ZILLIACUS: CASE FOR SOCIALISM pp. 6-7

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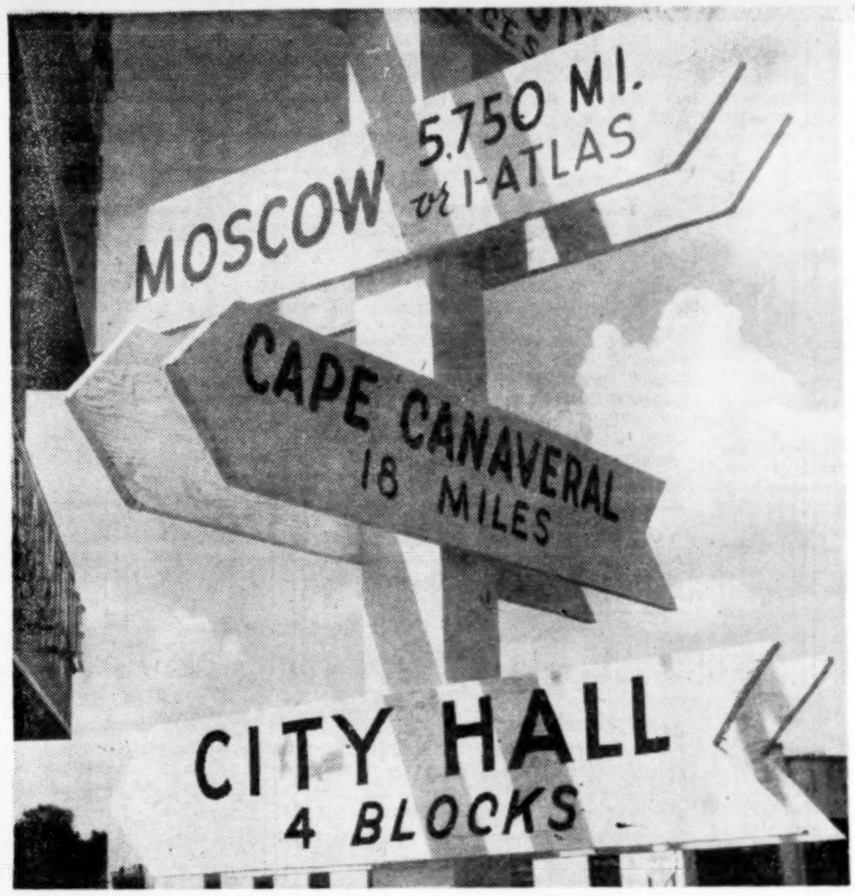


DISTANCE MEASURED IN TERMS OF DEATH AND DESTRUCTION
The sign above, suggesting that 5,750 miles equals one Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile, is a piece of cold-war mentality we could dispense with. We'd suggest that the sign-makers of Cocoa, Fla., to avoid hangovers, stick to a less heady brew.

ROCKY ROAD TO THE SUMMIT

De Gaulle & Adenauer toss monkey wrench in the peace works

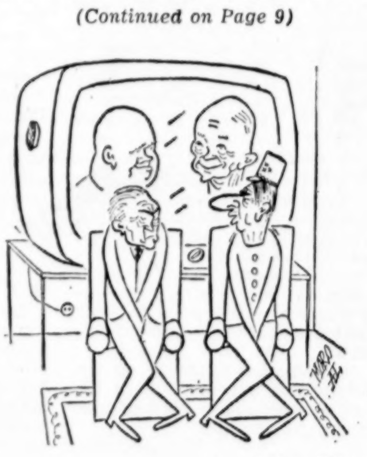
By Kumar Goshal

THE DIPLOMATIC NEWS in the last days of October and the first days of November has been a study in contrasts: President Eisenhower, Soviet Premier Khrushchev and British Prime Minister Macmillan have continued their harmonious approach to a top-level East-West conference; but West German Chancellor Adenauer and French President de Gaulle have persistenly piled up roadblocks to the summit.

At his Oct. 28 press conference Eisenhower said he still believed in an early summit meeting. He gave priority to disarmament in the agenda for such a meeting, but said it could not be discussed "without some mention being made of Germany."

In a major foreign policy speech before the Supreme Soviet on Oct. 31, Khrushchev stressed "peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders." He said it "presupposes elements of mutual concessions, mutual consideration of interests, since otherwise normal relations

(Continued on Page 9)



Berliner Zeitung
"Don't look now, De Gaulle."

HEARING CALLED 'WORST SORT OF INTERVENTION'

Puerto Rican leaders protest House probe

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that the House Committee on Un-American Activities has scheduled a hearing to begin Nov. 18 in San Juan, Puerto Rico, has drawn angry protests from Puerto Rican spokesmen in New York and on the island.

Jose Benitez, chairman of the Democratic Party of Puerto Rico, responded to the news with a letter to committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) urging him to call off the inquisition. He then told the press:

"The very announcement of the hearings constitutes an offense to the national sentiment and spirit of autonomy alive in every Puerto Rican . . . Such a gratuitous insult can itself be qualified as un-American since from no point of view does it benefit the U.S. or the American people . . . The presence here of the inquisitorial committee has the bitter taste of the worst sort of intervention."

PICKET LINE PROPOSED: Benitez also said that if the Congressmen wanted to take a trip to get away from the winter weather in Washington, "they ought to choose another place and another reason." A spokesman for the committee had said that preliminary investigations failed to prove that the Puerto Ricans as a group were inclined toward communism or that communism threatened the government of the island. The purpose of the hearing, he revealed, was to determine whether Puerto Rico was being used as a base for dissemination of "communist" literature to the U.S. and to Latin America.

A prominent Puerto Rican Senator, Lorenzo Pinero Rivera, suggested that a protest campaign be organized against "this new intervention of the Congress of the United States in Puerto Rican life" and that the hearings should be picketed.

He contended that "if the American legislators want to investigate subversive activities they could very well use all their time and still not complete a study of the subversion of institutions and values in the South."

CANCELLATION URGED: The leading New York Spanish-language newspaper, **La Prensa,** strongly supported Benitez's criticism of the Committee but wondered why he did not criticize the fact that "the government of the Commonwealth has not made a public and official protest."

In New York Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, called upon House Speaker Sam Rayburn to use his influence to call off the hearings. He pointed out that the San Juan sessions will be preceded by a New York hearing Nov. 16 and 17 involving prominent Puerto Rican citizens. The New Yorkers, he said, had already appeared before the committee in executive session. "It is hard to see that the comittee has any purpose but to punish individuals, contrary to the Constitutional provision against bills of attainder," he asserted.

The ECLC also sent telegrams to Gov. Rockefeller and New York Mayor Wagner urging them to intervene to cancel the hearings.

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DELEGATES STRESS INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

31 nations attend U. S. public health convention

Special to the Guardian
ATLANTIC CITY

IN LINE with the growing trend of international cooperation and understanding, the 87th annual convention of the American Public Health Assn. held here last month took as its theme "Public Health is One World." In attendance at the five-day meeting were 4,000 health workers from 31 countries, and 16 of the visitors delivered major reports.

In addition, several representatives of the World Health Organization (WHO) of the United Nations were present. The Association was aided in its international representation by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Milbank Memorial Fund.

Speakers from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia told of the great advances in those countries in public health practices, but a highlight of the convention was the report of Dr. T. F. Fox of London, editor of the British medical journal **The Lancet,** of a visit to China in 1957 and the "tremendous" success there in preventing disease. He startled many a delegate when he described the Chinese Communist Party as "probably the best instrument ever devised for cleaning up a slum, for instructing its inhabitants in hygiene and for getting everybody immunized."

THE U. S. PICTURE: Less encouraging was a report on health in the U.S. by Dr. Albert L. Chapman, assistant surgeon general, who said that a recent survey shows there are 69,000,000 persons in the U. S. suffering from some chronic disease or impairment, and that of these 17,000,000 "are limited in their activities by a chronic condition," and 1,100,000 are confined to hospitals.

Dr. Chapman complained that millions are spent in this country annually for medical research, but that only pennies are spent for applying the findings. He said: "We have failed signally to sell the value of preventive medicine to the taxpayer—to the man in the street. He has bought research, but he has not bought application. . . . Spending millions for research and pennies for application is like buying bread and not eating it."

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York addressed the opening session of the convention—he called rising medical costs "the one central problem transcending all others today"—and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt spoke at the final one. She called for support of the Health for Peace bill now before Congress; it would create a new international health research institute under U. S. Public Health Service

(Continued on Page 4)

THE MAIL BAG

Psychophants

BELHAVEN, N.C.

We have all known for a long time that the gentlemen who ought to be professional journalists and commentators are actually sycophants and lackeys of capitalism.

Never was this clearer than in the spectacle of Greek choruses that, over CBS and NBC, invariably followed Khrushchev's talks to the American people. How obviously had these "most distinguished" personalities of radio and TV been set up as an immediate antidote to Khrushchev!

An example of how difficult this was is this sample of Irving R. Levine's reasoning:

"It's true that there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union—but the Soviet people are slaves, they are forced to work." Then, later on in the same speech: "And we have advantages that the Russians don't enjoy; for example, we have unemployment insurance . . ."

Are we to conclude that Mr. Levine had his tongue in his cheek, or that this is the kind of reasoning one is finally reduced to after a few years of slavery to capitalism? **Vernon Ward**

How to win friends

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Khrushchev's proposal before the UN for the total and prompt disarmament of all nations is absolute common sense, and is the only policy which does make the slightest sense. Therefore I have written urging the President to adopt this as the policy of the United States. America as a nation and Eisenhower as its President can rise to heights of statesmanship and world leadership by joining with the U.S.S.R. in bringing about total world disarmament.

Florence H. Luscomb

Peace and the press

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

May I comment on Jim Aronson's excellent account of Mr. K's journey? If possible I would like to see his observations expanded and included in a pamphlet. If only to stress the importance of a free press to peace and international understanding.

Let me also comment on the tremendous improvement of the entire paper—both content-wise and in appearance.

George Anton

Bases in Turkey

RIDGEWOOD, N.Y.

Re the announcement that our government has concluded an agreement with Turkey to establish missile bases there:

In our negotiations with Russia we keep repeating that what we want are deeds, and not mere protestations of peaceful desires and assurances of good intentions. Does continued expansion of our bases—one right at the doorstep of Russia—represent a concrete proof of our sincerity, a proof such as we are constantly calling for from Russia?

On the heels of the departure of Khrushchev and on the eve of the renewal of disarmament negotiations should not our government withhold implementation of such agreements and actions pending the outcome of negotiations?

A. Martin

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

BERLIN (AP)—Bishop Otto Dibelius, head of Germany's Lutheran Church, says Christians need not obey the laws of the Communist East German government.

In a recent letter to Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hannover, he cited East German traffic laws as an example of what he would not obey. A speed limit in West Germany, he explained, might be foolish but it is ordained by a legitimate government.

—Chicago **Daily News,** 10/19/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: B. H., Evanston, Ill.

Forging a path

OKANAGAU MISSION, B.C.

I have this moment read W. E. B. Du Bois' article, "Forty-two years of the U.S.S.R." Dr. Du Bois is a great man, and like myself has grown old in the fight for which the NATIONAL GUARDIAN is a great exponent. It is a wonderful paper.

I was amused in one issue where you were accused of being too Marxist or non-Marxist, I forget which. But you are forging a path for the American masses that leads straight ahead.

Joseph Ivens

Thrilled

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was thrilled to the very marrow by the excerpts from a speech by Truman Nelson on my American of all times, John Brown.

I hope you will be sure to keep your readers informed of the publication date, title, etc., of his coming book on John Brown. I'm looking forward to it.

M. S.

Mr. K's fedora

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

On Nov. 21 a fund-raising party will be held in San Francisco to assist a young blind man who has been turned down by the State Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation (which agency is supposed to assist the blind in finding employment or gaining job training or advanced education). The State Assembly Social Welfare Committee is currently conducting an investigation of the BVR, but these things take time.

Meanwhile this 23-year-old man must live. He is completely blind and completely without means of a livelihood. He has only been in California for two years and it takes five to qualify for the $115 State blind pension.

Incidentally this is the man who will be given Khrushchev's fedora to sell if there is no other provision made for his welfare. K's hat will be on display at the affair, which will be held Sat., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. at Apt. 7, 1007 Haight St. Free food. $1.25 suggested donation.

Dave Adrian

Dave Adrian is the ILWU member who traded his white longshoreman's cap for Khrushchev's fedora at the Union hall in San Francisco—Ed.

Nathan Herman

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

It is my sad duty to report the death of a dear friend of ours, Nathan Herman—ever ready to understand and support the good fight.

In his memory, we enclose a contribution.

A group of friends

Wall Street Journal

"I just wanted to warn you, Miss Peters. He left for the office without his tranquilizer pills."

Off to Utopia

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Cedric Belfrage claims that the Labor Party lost the election because its platform was not radical enough. His analysis is no surprise: something of the sort has been said every time during the past 3 years that a Left party lost an election. Nobody ever seems to suggest that maybe the electorate, not the platform, was too far to the right.

When, oh when, will socialists master that fundamental political truth first formulated by Jefferson: ". . . mankind are the more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed." To spell out the moral: the great majority of Britishers are not "suffering" in any reasonable sense of the word. Why, then, does Belfrage suppose that they are in a mood to abolish the capitalism to which they are accustomed? The same applies with even greater force to Americans—witness the emaciated state of American socialism.

I have always been told that the principal difference between Marx and the Utopians who preceded him was his insistence that only the increasing misery of capitalism—not socialist manifestoes of even the most seductive sort—could push the people toward socialism. The obvious corollary is that when capitalism is not pushing the people, i.e., during times of prosperity—the socialist movement is bound to decline, however energetic its proponents, however plausible their arguments. Socialists who fail to understand this are pure Utopians in my book, to matter how Marxist they proclaim themselves.

Alex Leslie

On target

PRINCETON, N.J.

As a theological student I feel a desperate need for a right report and interpretation concerning the situation of the world. Also I want to understand America as a foreigner. For these aims, your paper seems to be very valuable.

Minorn Kasai

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE RED-BAITING BEGAN THE FIRST DAY, grew worse the second, reached the point of personal vituperation the third. In that short space of time, in an atmosphere that accompanies a lynching, the eleventh Constitutional convention of the CIO had abandoned its founding principles of trade union democracy and autonomy for affiliates; added a new split to an already divided U.S. labor movement; raised the art of red-baiting to a height seldom, if ever, equalled even in this loyalty oath era; and in effect, converted itself into an arm of the cold war by tolerating no opposition to its official support of the Truman bi-partisan foreign policy—the Marshall Plan and Atlantic Pact which events have already exposed as unworkable and disastrous.

—Lawrence Emery in a report on the CIO convention from Cleveland, in the National Guardian, Nov. 7, 1949.

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REPORT TO READERS

A matter of regret

AS HARDWORKING ADVOCATES of rapprochement on the American Left—in the interest of minimizing differences and getting down to brass tacks on a progressive program for our country—we regret that irreconcilable disagreements over electoral policy for 1960 have compelled a decision of New York's United Independent-Socialist Committee to disband (see p. 5).

The UI-SC was an interim continuation of an electoral coalition which placed an Independent-Socialist ticket in the field in the 1958 New York State elections. Its decision to dissolve when it could not reach agreement on 1960 electoral policy cannot be criticized. A divided Committee could not have continued to function. It was therefore best to agree to dissolve; the agreement was amicable.

OUR REGRET AT THE DISSOLUTION is not over the matter of national electoral policy, on which many more minds than those of a group of voters from a single state would have to find concurrence, and there has been no indication of a search for this anywhere else in the nation. Rather, we regret the termination of the UI-SC because it has been, for the almost two years of its coming together, a meeting-place of differing ideas and a never-ending effort to resolve differences or to set them aside in favor of minimum areas of agreement.

Thus it was possible, in New York's Independent-Socialist electoral effort of 1958, to go to the voters with a platform calling unequivocally for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union; for recognition of China and restoration of its offshore islands; for a forthright progressive program in labor and consumer interests, and for a perspective of social change upon which a large drafting committee reflecting Communist, Socialist and Trotskyist viewpoints as well as independents were agreed. Of the candidates who ran on the I-SP platform, Dr. Corliss Lamont for U.S. Senator received more than 49,000 votes; the others—John T McManus, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Capt. Hugh Mulzac and Scott K. Gray—won as many as 37,000 votes. This was, of course, a modest result by any standard in New York; but it far outnumbered the roll of professing socialists in the State, and might have been a much better showing had the ticket been able to spend its time and meager funds campaigning, rather than fighting in the courts for the right to a ballot position.

THE EFFORTS REPRESENTED IN NEW YORK'S Independent-Socialist grouping were a breaking of new ground on two levels: one, the seeking of programmatic concurrence by members of groups in long-time conflict; the other, the agreement to go to the voters with an independent, non-sectarian platform calling for radical social change.

The first objective—moves toward programmatic concurrence or at least a confrontation of differences—came about through many efforts beginning as early as 1956, the most noteworthy being that of A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in initiating a series of public meetings at which spokesmen of various socialist groupings traded views. Out of this grew the American Forum for Socialist Education, which continued the process during 1957-58. Working ardently with Muste in the AFSE at the start was the late Clifford T. McAvoy, who independently conducted Socialist Unity forums in New York until his untimely death in the summer of 1957. Muste took no part in launching the I-SP electoral effort in 1958, nor was the AFSE involved in it in any way. However, men and women who had traded views in the AFSE emerged as active participants in the Independent-Socialist campaign of 1958, and in the continuing UI-SC.

The second of the UI-SC objectives—that of independent political action considering and proposing radical solutions—was proposed by the GUARDIAN as early as January, 1955, when, in deep concern over the impending dissolution of the Progressive Party and its branches in many states, such as the American Labor Party in New York, we editorially urged the PP and its branches to continue, and to formulate a new program proposing social change.

THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF NEW YORK'S UI-SC to these objectives have been many and praiseworthy. We are confident that, when today's disagreements are past, the men and women who contributed to its work may join together again, with enlarged support, for a continuing effort to bring into being a new and broader unity of independent and socialist thought for a better America.

—THE GUARDIAN

COMPANIES STALL NEGOTIATIONS

Steel strikers challenge T-H law in Supreme Court

By Robert E. Light

NINE SHIPS of U.S. Steel's Pittsburgh steamship division last week lay in Duluth harbor loaded with iron ore, awaiting the signal to sail down the Great Lakes to East Coast steel centers. They took on their cargoes just before their crews struck on July 15 with 500,000 other members of the AFL-CIO United Steel Workers.

Word that could set the ships to sail and return the strikers to the mills for 80 days was due at any time from the Supreme Court in Washington. The High Court was to decide whether continuance of the strike was a "danger to the national health and safety"; it could also rule on the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley injunction.

THEY SIGNED A CONTRACT

Steel union president David J. McDonald and Max Zivian, president of Detroit Steel, rejoice over the agreement.

The steel strike went to the courts on Oct. 19 when a T-H board of inquiry reported to President Eisenhower that a settlement was not in sight. Two days later Federal District Judge Herbert P. Sorg granted a T-H injunction halting the walkout for an 80-day "cooling off" period. But he stayed the injunction pending an appeal by the union to a higher court. The union contended that the nation's safety was not in danger and that the President had powers under the Defense Production Act and the Selective Service law to force the mills to produce for national defense. It also challenged the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley injunction.

JUDGE HASTIE DISSENTS: On Oct. 27 the U.S. Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia upheld Sorg's injunction in a 2-to-1 decision. The majority affirmed the law's constitutionality and the government's contention that the strike imperiled the nation.

But in a dissenting opinion, Judge William H. Hastie, the only Negro in the Federal Circuit Court, held that the injunction would impede settlement of the strike because it would remove economic pressures from both sides. In support, he cited opinions of noted arbitrators. One was Nathan P. Feinsinger who said: "A study of the record shows that, in some cases, the injunction has merely stiffened the resistance of unions. There is a traditional resistance of labor to the injunction as a strike-breaking device. I know of no case where an injunction, as such, cleared the atmosphere or expedited the settlement of a dispute."

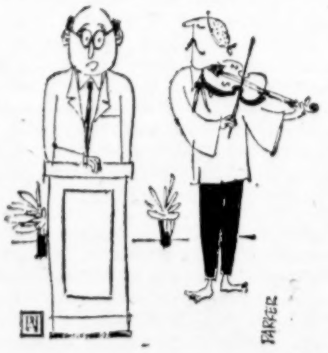
The Appeals Court stayed the injunction for six additional days to allow the union to appeal to the Supreme Court. Government attorneys said the delay was too long. Defense Secy. Neil H. McElroy said there was a "serious squeeze" on missile production because of a steel shortage. From his vacation ground in Augusta, Ga., President Eisenhower said that construction of missile test sites was being delayed because of the strike. But in a one-sentence ruling the Supreme Court affirmed the delay.

KAISER CONTRACT: On Tuesday, November 3, union and government attorneys began their oral arguments before the court. A ruling was expected before the end of the week.

At the negotiating table both sides stiffened. The union, bolstered by the Kaiser settlement, tried to break the industry's united front by negotiating separately with the companies. But the industry closed ranks and the union could sign up only two small companies which had not been struck, Granite City Steel and Detroit Steel.

The Kaiser contract, which runs for two years and the union says should be a model for the industry, includes these provisions:

- No wage increase the first year. But take-home pay will be increased immediately by about 9c an hour because the company will assume full cost of the insurance plan and medical, pension and supplemental unemployment insurance benefits will be broadened.
- Wage increases of 7c-9c an hour will begin July 1, 1960. And an additional 1c an hour in insurance benefits paid by the company will take effect Nov. 1, 1960.
- During the second year of the contract, cost-of-living wage adjustments will be allowed up to 3c an hour.



Steel Labor

"And that concludes my remarks regarding management's side of the labor disputes."

- A labor-management committee will be set up to review work rules and make recommendations for changes. But adjustments will be instituted only by mutual consent.
- A nine-member committee—composed of three persons named by the union, an equal number named by the company and veteran mediators Dr. George Taylor, Dr. John Dunlop and David L. Cole, representing the public—will devise a "long-range plan for equitable sharing between the stockholders, the employes and the public the fruits of the company's progress." Some felt this meant that wages and other benefits will be pegged to the company's profit ratio.

The agreement will cost the company 19½c-22½c an hour, but Kaiser officials said they planned no price increase.

BIG STEEL FIRM: R. Conrad Cooper, spokesman for the 11 top companies, said the industry could not accept the Kaiser settlement because it was "inflationary." President Eisenhower would not endorse the Kaiser contract but he said he hoped it would be a "signal" for final settlement of the strike. Federal mediator Joseph F. Finnegan summoned both sides to Washington but the companies held to their last offer which the union had rejected. It called for a three-year contract including about 24c an hour in benefits and a proposal to arbitrate changes in work rules.

The companies seemed to feel they had nothing to lose by holding out. The Supreme Court, they seemed certain, would affirm the injunction and the strikers would be back in the mills within a week. In the next 80 days enough steel could be produced to satisfy the immediate needs of the industry's biggest customers. If at the end of that period the workers have not "cooled off" and resume their strike, Congress might step in to keep the mills open.

On Oct. 31 Commerce Secy. Frederick H. Mueller said the government would have to intervene if the steel workers struck again. "We simply cannot permit a resumption of the strike," he said.

In Washington Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) said the Senate Labor Committe would hold hearings to determine if additional powers should be granted to the President to intervene in national strikes. There were many in Washington who had suggestions, but few seemed designed to help labor. They included: compulsory arbitration, placing unions under anti-trust laws to prevent industry-wide bargaining and increasing the duration of the "cooling-off" injunction to an indefinite period.

RECORD PROFITS: The companies were also hedging in the event Congress does not act. Their continued harping on the inflation theme seemed to indicate that if they settle on the Kaiser formula, they may then raise prices and blame it on the union.

To help play a waiting game, the industry's top companies built enormous profits during the first half of the year. Although U.S. Steel showed a record loss of $31,135,136 for the third quarter of the year, it was still able to pay dividends of 75c on common shares because most of the loss was written off in the company's tax return. And for the first nine months of the year it recorded profits of $223,800,000, an increase of $13,300,000 from last year.

On the picket line the strikers were firm. But if they hoped to win, it seemed like a good time for them and their friends to remind Congress that 1960 is an election year.

The vanishing jobs

IN A REPORT on the steel companies' demand for greater control over work rules, **Newsweek** (Nov. 2) said:

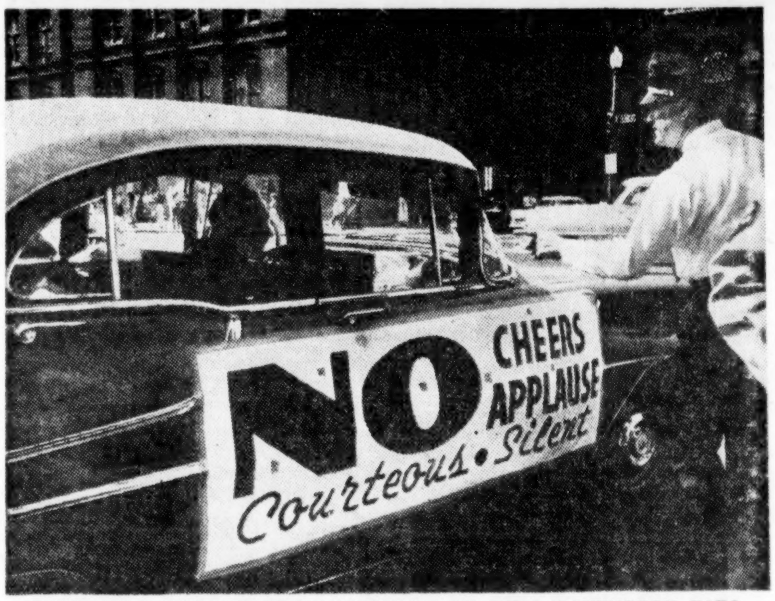
"Not that the companies have no control over payrolls. In 1946, the Steelworkers mustered 750,000 men for a strike. Since then, their numbers have been whittled to 500,000, a tribute to the efficiency of the mills and equipment that have pushed annual steel capacity from 91.2 million tons to 147.6 million in the same period."

David Krinkin, editor of Russky Golos, dies

IT WAS LEARNED last week that Dr. David Krinkin, editor of the progressive Russian-language daily **Russky Golos,** published in New York, had died a week earlier in Moscow. He was 69. Dr. Krinkin had gone to the Soviet Union in September as a guest of the Soviet Union of Journalists.

Dr. Krinkin, a native of Stalingrad, had worked for several Russian-language newspapers before becoming editor of **Russky Golos.** He came to this country in 1914. He had a degree as a doctor of jurisprudence from the University of Rome. In the dwindling area of the foreign-language press, **Russky Golos** under Dr. Krinkin's editorship had maintained a high journalistic quality and an unceasing advocacy of American-Soviet friendship.

Dr. Krinkin's widow and a daughter survive.



REMEMBER KHRUSHCHEV'S COMMENT ON THIS WASHINGTON CAR?

This picture, to the best of our knowledge never printed in the U.S., comes from an Italian weekly, Vie Nuove, *and turns out to be the car which preceded the official entourage when the Soviet premier rode into Washington from Andrew Air Force base. The State Dept. said it couldn't understand how the car got there. Many U.S. papers said the car didn't exist. The Pittsburgh* Press *accused the GUARDIAN of spreading false stories. Here's the pictorial truth.*

Crisis at the 'Baby Summit'

AT A "LITTLE FOUR" CONFERENCE held last month in Liechtenstein's only motel, San Marino (pop. 13,500), Monaco (pop. 20,202), Andorra (pop. 5,231) and Liechtenstein (pop. 13,571) were faced with an application by Sark (Channel Islands) to be included in the joint guidebook published by the Four. Sark claimed eligibility on the ground that its population was estimated at 437 in 1954, and that alhough it consists of Great Sark and Little Sark there is nothing great about it: its total area, consisting mainly of rocks, is 1,247 acres.

Objections were raised from the floor (Andorra's representative remaining silent as he "did not fully understand the question") that Sark was not really an independent country. It is ruled on feudal-hangover lines by a Mrs. R. W. Hathaway, known as "the Dame," whose subjects pay no income tax but whose possession of an Order of the British Empire makes her suspect of de facto allegiance to Queen Elizabeth. It was further pointed out that Sark had submitted no copy in time for the next edition of the guidebook.

The applications of both Sark and Luxembourg (unable to deny charges that its population exceeds 300,000) were turned down, and the "little cold war" went on.

POLITICS IN LOUISIANA

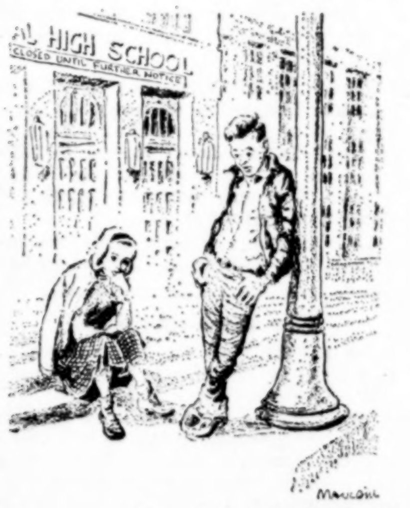
Candidate for governor gets ban on all NAACP activities

By Louis E. Burnham

THE TEMPTATION to further their political fortunes by making a whipping boy of the NAACP is irresistible to some Southern politicians. Four rabid anti-NAACP campaigners sitting in the governor's chairs in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi indicate that the tactic still works.

Currently applying it is Louisiana's foremost racist, State Senator William Rainach. A candidate for governor in a campaign now hotting up for a Dec. 15 primary vote, Rainach called upon State Atty. Gen. Jack Gremillion to seek a ban on an NAACP state convention scheduled for Oct. 10 and 11.

At Gremillion's request, a state court on Oct. 9 issued a temporary order banning the convention and any other NAACP meetings or activities in the state. The court's action was based on a 1924 anti-Ku Klux Klan law which requires the filing of membership and officers' lists with the secretary of state, and a 1958 law requiring local groups affiliated with national organizations to file affidavits that none of the officers of the parent organizations is a member of any group regarded as "subversive" by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"I started a correspondence course, until Pa learned that was integrated, too."

BOTH CHALLENGED: The NAACP has not only refused to comply with either, but its legal department is challenging the constitutionality of both in suits now pending in Federal courts. On the strength of this, NAACP general counsel Robert L. Carter filed a petition on Oct. 21 to shift further hearings on the temporary ban from the state to the Federal court.

The prospect is that the ban will eventually be lifted and the laws declared invalid as infringements on the rights of free speech and association. But meanwhile Rainach will make what political capital he can as a defender of white supremacy, and the present level of Louisiana politics makes that considerable.

Mrs. Doretha A. Combre, Louisiana state president of the NAACP, pointed out that Rainach is leading a movement to purge Negroes from the states' voters list "because he knows he cannot carry these voters in his race for the governorship." He also believes, she said, that "his role in instigating the injunction will enhance his candidacy among white voters."

COMMISSION DEFIED: The wholesale purge of Negro voters is a remarkable feature of the campaign. Two years ago, according to the Southern Regional Council, there were 161,410 Negroes registered in the state. In some parishes (counties), all but a handful have been removed from the books under a state law which enables any two voters to challenge the registration of another.

When the Federal Civil Rights Commission announced hearings in Shreveport last July on charges of 67 Negroes that they'd been denied voting rights, Gremillion defended 17 parish registrars who had been subpenaed to testify. He won a 2-1 ruling in a Federal district court barring the Commission from operating in Louisiana. The majority held that, since the Commission's rules did not permit confrontation and cross-examination of witnesses, its procedures were unconstitutional. The case is now on its way to the Supreme Court.

TOUGH JOB: A previous ban in 1956 put the NAACP out of business in the state for seven months. Based on the same anti-Klan law, it was eventually overturned on a technicality by the State Supreme Court. Prior to that prohibition, the Louisiana organization had 65 local branches with a state membership of 12,800. There are now 12 branches with a membership of 4,000.

The job of holding this nucleus together while the current case makes its way through the courts will be difficult. And if the ban is lifted, the task will be to rebuild almost from scratch.

Delinquency in socialist lands

LAST YEAR I SPENT a month in the Soviet Union and three months in China. During that time I was able to satisfy myself that juvenile delinquency was not a problem in the Socialist States.

It certainly is not entirely absent but it had decreased to such an extent as to require no special measures. This is corroborated by many observers, French, English and Australian.

The factors that exercise a good influence on Soviet and Chinese youth are: (1) The absence of vicious literature such as is current in Australia today and largely comes from the U.S.A. (2) The absence of newspapers and films whose main subject is vice and crime. (3) The relatively scanty opportunities for drinking, very few bars and saloons (4) The very small place occupied by gambling in the lives of the people (5) The very great effort to make the people cultured in every way—i.e. to raise their tastes—and the unequalled education system. (6) The great availability without cost of every opportunity for physical sport. (7) The absence of unemployment. (8) The prevalence of early marriage and the great importance given to family life. (9) The universal objective, viz. to wring from nature what man needs, and the consequent opportunity to develop all talents. (10) The great power of social opinion. Misbehavior by anyone is deemed treason to the common cause—not merely the private affair of the delinquent and his or her family.

Finally, the kindly, humane and patient treatment of the delinquent when detected is not merely the affair of the courts or the jail authorities or a prisoners' aid association, it is the affair of the workers in the factory or on the farm and the delinquent's fellow citizens.

I am sure that it would pay us to send a commission to the U.S.S.R. to thoroughly study the question. We would most certainly be able to learn something useful.

—Letter in the **Australian Medical Journal**

A STREET COMMITTEE VOLUNTEER TEACHES HYGIENE IN PEKING

The instructor (background) uses pointer and pictures to get his health message across. Such street committees have cleaned up all the slums of China.

Public health

(Continued from Page 1)

auspices with an initial budget of $50,000,000.

THE CHINA PICTURE: Dr. Fox in his report on China said that small fees for medical care are gradually being abolished. Government employes, students and industrial workers do not pay at all and their families pay only half, Dr. Fox said. "As industry develops," he predicted, "fewer and fewer people will pay directly for their medical care. In the countryside it will no doubt be free to all members of the new communes."

Private practice, he explained, continues under government supervision. In one Manchurian city private practice had been completely abolished when Dr. Fox visited it. There was a municipal health center, he said, staffed by 16 doctors. According to Dr. Fox, the modern doctor in China is trained to be a specialist. A village hospital, he said, will have a team composed of internist, pediatrician, gynecologist and surgeon.

The Chinese have coped with the slums of Shanghai by means of street committees that deal with welfare, education and health. The municipal health office gives the voluntary workers the elementary training they need. Medicine is linked with nationalism and progress, Dr. Fox pointed out.

The eradication of flies which has impressed foreign visitors is part of the attack on the Four Pests, Dr. Fox declared. The other three pests being exterminated are grain-eating sparrows, rats and mosquitoes. Smallpox and plague have been almost wiped out as a result of the health campaign. And "there has been no cholera since 1949," Dr. Fox said. To celebrate the tenth anniversary of Liberation, Dr. Fox said, a great effort is being made to eliminate the major parasitic diseases, including malaria.

SOVIET ADVANCES: A high spot of the convention was a report by Prof. Anatoli Smorodinstev on live virus vaccines being tested in the Soviet Union. Prof. Smorodinstev is director of the Dept. of Virology at the Institute of Experimental Medicine in Leningrad.

"Young Soviet physicians," he said, "have now only book knowledge of such diseases as plague, smallpox, cholera and relapsing fever; for they have disappeared entirely. The Academy of Medical Sciences and the Soviet Ministry of Health have developed for the next seven to ten years a large and realistic program of step-by-step eradication of various important infectious diseases. Among these are included malaria, diphtheria and venereal diseases. Specific virus diseases to be dealt with are trachoma, poliomyelitis, measles and mumps. This last task is not as impossible as it might seem, but is based on recent development of effective, specific live vaccines."

Prof. Smorodinstev reported that about 20,000,000 people are being immunized each year with an influenza virus vaccine which is proving a practical method of mass prevention of influenza, but he admitted that there is still much research to be done.

The live polio virus vaccine developed by Dr. Albert Sabin of the U. of Cincinnati has been closely studied by Soviet scientists for four years. It has proved effective in 90% or more of vaccinated susceptible children, Dr. Smorodinstev said. Some 12,000,000 children have been safety vaccinated, he said. It is administered orally in a syrupy liquid or candy.

"During the past five years," Dr. Smorodinstev told his audience, "laboratory, clinical and epidemiological efforts have been directed toward the development of live attenuated mumps vaccine, administered intradermally, as an effective immunizing method for children." During 1955--1957, 35,000 children were vaccinated, he explained. There was 90% protection and immunization lasted for at least three years.

Dr. Smorodinstev paid tribute to several U. S. researchers in these fields.

OTHER LANDS: In contrast to the tremendous strides in the Soviet Union and China was the story of Africa ravished by malnutrition, tuberculosis and malaria. Dr. Susan Ofori-Atta of Ghana's Medical Research Institute asked: "How can the labor efficiency of these countries be expected to be high when about 45% of the deaths occur in the under-15-years age group and half of the population is malnourished?"

Dr. Abraham Horwitz of the WHO, speaking of the need for expanded health programs in the Latin American countries, called attention to the economic cycle of disease—the relation between health and production—inadequate wages and deficient diets.

Chicago Friendship Club to hear Dr. Blossom Dec. 5

DR. Virgil T. Blossom, former Superintendent of Schools of Little Rock, Ark., will be the guest speaker at the 2nd annual Human Rights Dinner of the American Friendship Club to be held Saturday evening, Dec. 5. Dr. Blossom, author of the recent book on the Little Rock school struggle, **It Has Happened Here,** is now a District School Superintendent in San Antonio, Tex.

The dinner will be held at the Hyde Park YMCA, 1400 E. 53rd St. at 7 p.m., and will include a musical program. Reservations at $3.50 can be made by calling Attorney Paul Hayzlett, ST 2-6646, or Mrs. Johnnie Cox Cotton at NO 7-1131.

ELECTORAL POLICY KEY

UI-SC disbands in N. Y.; failed to agree on '60

BECAUSE OF DISAGREEMENTS over electoral policy for 1960, New York's United Independent-Socialist Committee has voted to dissolve. The Committee's concluding activity will be a "send-off" reception Dec. 13 for its executive secretary, newspaperman William A. Price, who is assuming the post of coordinator of the new Committee of First Amendment Defendants.

The action to dissolve the UI-SC was taken by its administrative committee following an exchange of views among its leaders in the Committee's newsletter during the late summer (GUARDIAN 9/21) and a two-day Consultative Conference Sept. 26-27 which failed to indicate a means of reconciling the differences (GUARDIAN, Oct. 5).

THE DIFFERENCES: Principally the differences on electoral policy were between advocates of an independent-socialist presidential campaign in as many states as possible, with estimates that ballot access might be gained in as many as 13 states and as few as eight; and those advocating no national activity but possible concentration on one or more independent congressional campaigns in the state. A middle position advocated ballot positions in as many states as possible, but postponing decision on a presidential campaign pending possible nomination of a peace candidate by the Democratic Party.

Price, the UI-SC's retiring executive secretary, was discharged as reporter and rewrite man on the N. Y. **Daily News** in 1956 for refusing to answer questions of the Eastland Committee on First Amendment grounds. He was subsequently indicted for contempt, convicted and sentenced to a $500 fine and three months in prison. His case and those of some 30 other First Amendment defendants are the concern of the new committee whose activities Price will coordinate.

FIFTH YEAR OF SERVICE

Rights Fund helps Frank & Barenblatt

THE BILL OF RIGHTS Fund celebrated its fifth anniversary Nov. 2 with the announcement by its chairman, Dr. Corliss Lamont, that it is giving "substantial financial support" to Waldo Frank, author, in his suit against the State Dept. for a passport to China.

A grant was also voted to Dr. Lloyd Barenblatt, teacher, to enable him to pay a fine levied against him as the result of a conviction on a charge of contempt of Congress.

Dr. Lamont reported that during the five years of existence, the Fund has made grants totaling more than $100,000 to approximately 150 individuals to help in defense of their civil liberties in the courts.

CRITICAL STRUGGLE: Dr. Lamont stated: "The Bill of Rights Fund is the only organization in the United States whose sole function is to raise and dispense money on behalf of individuals and organizations fighting for the freedoms guaranteed by the American Constitution.

"In spite of some improvement over the past few years," he added, "the struggle to protect our precious Bill of Rights remains critical. It is a continuous seesaw battle between the strong forces of reaction in this country and those who favor the complete fulfillment of the American ideal of democracy."

The Bill of Rights Fund has an impressive record of victories in cases successfully appealed to the Supreme Court with its support.

PARAGUAY
PAKISTAN
NORWAY
NICARAGUA
NETHERLANDS
ENMARK
COSTA RI
COLOMBIA
CHINA

United Nations photo

THREE WHO ESCAPED FROM SOUTH WEST AFRICA TELL THE UN THEIR STORY

Facing the camera at the center table are Mburumba Kerina, Fanuel J. Kozonguizi, and the Rev. Michael Scott. Seated with his back to the camera is Hans J. Beukes.

THE UN AT LAST HEARS NATIVE SPOKESMEN

S. W. Africa: The shame of imperialism

EVERY YEAR since its inception, the United Nations has discussed the tragic issue of the Africans in South West Africa, oppressed and exploited by the neighboring Union of South Africa. Each year the issue has been overshadowed by more dramatic questions while the plight of the Africans has become ever more unbearable.

The story of South West Africa has all the worst ingredients of imperialism. German conquest of the territory in late 19th century was not completed until the war of 1904-07, during which 65,000 of the 80,000 members of the Herero tribe were slaughtered on the "extermination order" of Gen. von Trotha.

Some Hereros fled to the neighboring British protectorate of Bechuanaland, the rest stayed on under Chief Hosea Kutako, who is still alive at the age of 88. In World War I, they provided soldiers and aid for the Allies and were promised the return of their possessions. Instead, their territory was mandated by the League of Nations to white-supremacist South Africa.

ONE HOLDOUT NATION: When the League mandates were transferred to UN trusteeship, South Africa was the only country that held out. Until this year, South Africa boycotted all discussions of the issue in the UN. Meanwhile, it exercised de facto control over the territory.

South West Africa (pop. 539,000) is about the size of France. Of its people, 452,000 are pure-blooded Africans belonging to the Ovambo, Herero, Nama (Hottentot) and Bushman tribes; 21,000 are "Coloreds" (mixed blood); and 66,000 are Europeans. The Europeans exploit the stock-farming areas and mineral wealth of the country.

White investors—who now include Americans—make a rich living by exporting diamonds, lead ores, fish products and caracul (Persian lamb) pelts and by dairy-farming, and raising sheep and cattle. The Africans were moved from place to place, as the good land was taken over by the whites, and placed in desolate reserves.

THE CONDITIONS: The reserves are literally reservoirs of cheap labor for white-owned farms and mines. Forced labor is not unusual. South West Africans, like Africans in South Africa, must carry at least nine kinds of passes. Their wages vary from $2.80 a month on farms to $33.60 a month as the highest wages in mines. Living conditions are abominable.

At the American-owned Tsumeb copper mines—the Newmont Mining Corp. and American Metal Climax Inc.—African workers live 12 to a room. John Gunther, in his **Inside Africa,** called the African "location" in the capital city of Windhoek "one of the most gruesome and nauseating slums I have ever seen."

A SPONSOR IS NEEDED: The UN charter grants non-selfgoverning territories the right to petition for redress and to send petitioners to plead their case before UN members. Any resolution regarding these territories, however, must be sponsored by one or more UN members.

Since it does not recognize UN jurisdiction over South West Africa, the South African government has never allowed an African from that territory to appear before the UN. For several years, the Anglican minister Rev. Michael Scott, a friend of the tribal chiefs, was the solitary spokesman for the South West Africans.

In 1956, a young Herero, Mburumba Kerina, slipped into South Africa and obtained a passport as a South African to study in the U.S. Last spring another Herero, Fanuel J. Kozonguizi, made his way to the U.S. by a circuitous route. A third South West African, Hans J. Beukes, arrived here late last summer. He was smuggled out of his country by three Americans in the back seat of a Volkswagen.

THE AMERICANS: The three Americans were Allard K. Lowenstein, a New York attorney on leave from the staff of Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.); Emory F. Bundy, a teacher at Millbrook School, N.Y.; and Sherman Bull, a student at Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons. At their own expense last summer they had gone as tourists to South West Africa by way of South Africa with a tape recorder and had brought back eye-witness stories and photographic evidence of the deplorable condition of the Africans and recorded messages from the tribal chiefs.

In the current session of the UN Trusteeship Committee, for the first time there were three authorized representatives, in addition to Michael Scott, of the South West Africans, and three Americans, all with overwhelming evidence of the South African government's brutal treatment of the South West Africans.

THE EXPERT: Kerina noted that the South African UN delegation included a "specialist" on South West Africa, J. G. van der Wath who, as an agricultural school principal in 1942, had said:

"God made heaven and earth and all things useful in them. The devil also wanted to make things and he make all the useless and nuisance-giving things. So God made the sheep, and the devil . . . make a goat. God made the bee to make honey, and the devil . . . make a fly. God made the horse, the devil . . . make a donkey. God made man, the devil . . . make the Kaffirs, the Hottentots and the Bushmen."

ACTION REQUESTED: Kerina asked the UN to take the case of South West Africa to the Intl. Court of Justice for a compulsory judgment. He was supported by Beukes and Kozonguizi, who also urged an "economic boycott" of South Africa by UN members. But the most eloquent plea came from the tape-recorded messages sent by the tribal chiefs (see below).

The UN Trusteeship Committee on Oct. 30, by a 52-4 vote with 17 abstentions, passed a resolution suggesting that a former League of Nations member volunteer to bring legal action in the Intl. Court against South Africa for its refusal to accept UN supervision of South Africa. No member thus far has volunteered.

'My life is worse than that of a dog'

ON OCT. 14 the South West Africa tape was played in the Security Council chamber before an informal gathering of 25 Trusteeship Committee members. They heard 88-year-old Paramount Chief Kutako describe his country's bondage and say:

"The dwelling place which was given us by God has been taken away from us and as such today we are just like animals who have nowhere to live . . . I implore the United Nations to give me my freedom this year . . ."

Chief Hendrick Samuel Witbooi of the Nama tribe said: "We have understood the United Nations organization to be a dignified organization, which will see that all people on the face of this earth will have their rights and freedom. It is therefore all of us, the chiefs of this country request: that this country of ours be placed under trusteeship of the United Nations—then we believe that we will be free . . . "

Another South West African said: "I, Johannes Kubas . . . My life is worse than that of a dog. The dogs of white people live ten times better than I do. And I am asking the Lord that he should today please, please, place South West Africa under the hands of the United Nations or we will die out like grass that has burnt out."

The most touching plea came from Rev. Markus Kooper, pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church at Hoachanas, who was forcibly removed from his people by the police. He said: "They came to remove me from Hoachanas. My people came to take up a place in front of my house. . . . The police fought the people so that the blood was running down the bodies of the people. I was then fetched and thrown into the lorry . . . I am asking earnestly the United Nations that I be returned to my work at Hoachanas."

KONNI ZILLIACUS ON THE FUTURE OF BRITAIN'S LABOR

Historic choice: 'Progressive capitalism' or demo

One of the sharpest minds functioning in the Western world today on political and economic problems is Konni Zilliacus, Labor MP, who was recently returned to his seat in Parliament with an increased majority after a campaign based on an out-and-out socialist program. In the article below Zilliacus discusses Britain in the aftermath of the Conservative victory. The article is especially pertinent in the growing debate over the possibility of converting to a peacetime economy after disarmament.

By Konni Zilliacus, M.P.

LONDON

THE SIZE OF THE CONSERVATIVE'S victory surprised everyone.

What will they do with it, and what are the conclusions being drawn from Labor's defeat? To some extent the answer to the former will be bound up with that to the latter.

At the beginning of the election campaign the Conservative **Sunday Express** said that the one thing that really frightened Macmillan was the prospect of a big victory. For then the die-hard Tories, who believe in the cold war, colonial repression, getting tough with the workers and attacking the trade unions and the Welfare State, would get the upper hand. So long as they were restrained by a small majority and the consequent fear of a Labor victory, he could manage them; but if the Tories won by a large majority there would be no holding them.

The Cabinet re-shuffle looks as though Macmillan is trying to forestall this danger by appointing "moderates" to the key posts. His reasons were analyzed in the London **Times** of Oct. 12:

"It has for a long time been axiomatic among Conservative leaders that in good times and bad they may rely on the votes of about three million trade unionists. But one of the particular lessons of the 1955 and 1959 elections is thought to be the dependable block vote of the working class housewives. The argument is that as the good things of life spread the housewives count their blessings; and voting behavior in the new towns and new housing estate areas near London is considered to prove that here in the working class is a reservoir of votes that should be taken note of."

IT IS TRUE that if one-third of the workers of Britain, who number nearly 70% of the population, did not vote Tory, Labor would be permanently in power, and that housewives and some of the better paid workers who have moved into new and better houses built by their Town Councils (often, as in London, Labor) are now voting Tory, for reasons of social snobbery as well as material benefit. But they are living in a fools' paradise and their awakening is likely to be rude.

For, says the same **Times** article, Macmillan "will continue to run the economy on 'the accelerator and brake' principle that has brought him success in the past 18 months."

That is a polite—and cynical—way of saying that the Tories won the 1955 election on the strength of a "sunshine budget" which gave away some hundreds of millions of pounds in tax relief, especially to the upper brackets of income tax payers, and started a spending spree that in a few months landed us in a balance of payments and inflation crisis. This was met by an October supplementary budget that took back the April "sunshine budget" concessions, and ushered in the policy of a high bank rate, a credit squeeze and other austerity measures that throttled down production and produced stagnation and rising unemployment for three and one-half years.

Then last April came a bigger and better "sunshine budget," giving away £366,000,000 to everyone except the sick, the poor, the aged and the unemployed and taking the brakes off production again. Unemployed figures sank from 600,000 (with "concealed unemployment" and short time bringing the figure to twice that amount) to 300,000. Millions of pounds were spent by big business interests in a newspaper and poster campaign denouncing nationalization and dinning in the message: "You've never had it so good;" "Life is better under the Conservatives: don't let Labor spoil it."

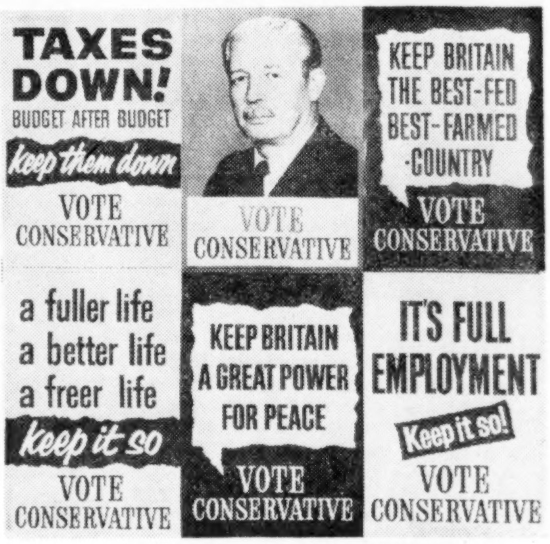
Aided by a wonderful summer and in the absence of effective Labor leadership, all this induced a feeling of euphoria strong enough to produce the 1.3% over-all swing to the Tories which, magnified by our electoral system, gave them an additional 25 seats.

BUT IN SIX MONTHS or so there will be another balance of payments and inflation crisis, followed by more government-produced stagnation and unemployment. This time the suffering will be worse and more widespread, for the present spending spree is sustained largely by the spread of installment buying, being paid for by overtime and by both husband and wife working. Even a small drop in production would bring with it much loss of overtime and loss of their jobs by women in industry.

"Mr. Macmillan," says the **Times** article already referred to, "clearly feels that he now has the measure of unemployment . . . He has seen that the unemployment we are most likely to know in the immediate future will arise from technological developments, changes in the geographical pattern of industry, and to some extent the allocation of defense spending. Thus there are likely to be risks of obstinate patches of unemployment in a general setting of prosperity, and it will be necessary for the government to find a means of stimulating local employment promptly without encouraging general inflationary activity."

This undoubtedly does reflect the government view. But it contains a perilously large proportion of illusion: Conservative policy for dealing with "obstinate patches of unemployment" is to try to coax and bribe industrialists to set up their factories (or hire government built factories) in what used to be called the "distressed areas" but are now referred to as "development areas." The Conservative election manifesto explained, however, that it was contrary to Conservative philosophy to apply any compulsion to industrialists for this purpose.

This "voluntary" policy, as long experience has proved, is bound to fail as a way of dealing with "obstinate patches of unemployment." In any case such "patches"—e.g. Scotland, Wales, the North West and the North East industrial regions of England—always show more unemployment sooner than the rest of the country, but also always only as part of a general nationwide fall in production and rise of unemployment, not in a "general setting of prosperity."



THEY NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD
In the Conservative Party posters anyway

IT IS THE VERY ESSENCE of the Conservative way of driving our economy on the "accelerator and brake" principle, without touching the steering wheel (i.e. while rejecting public ownership, planning and selective controls), that it can only stagger from stagnation to inflation and back again—while winning elections in the lulls between the two, in the absence of a Labor opposition fighting with courage and conviction for a clear-cut socialist alternative policy.

This time, when the government goes in for a further bout of stagnation to deal with the consequences of its present inflationary policy, or even earlier, when the workers ask for higher wages as their share of the "prosperity" measured by a boom in stocks and shares, the die-hard right wing of the Tory Party are likely to get out of hand and apply their old-fashioned remedies by attacking wage standards, the trade unions and the Welfare State.

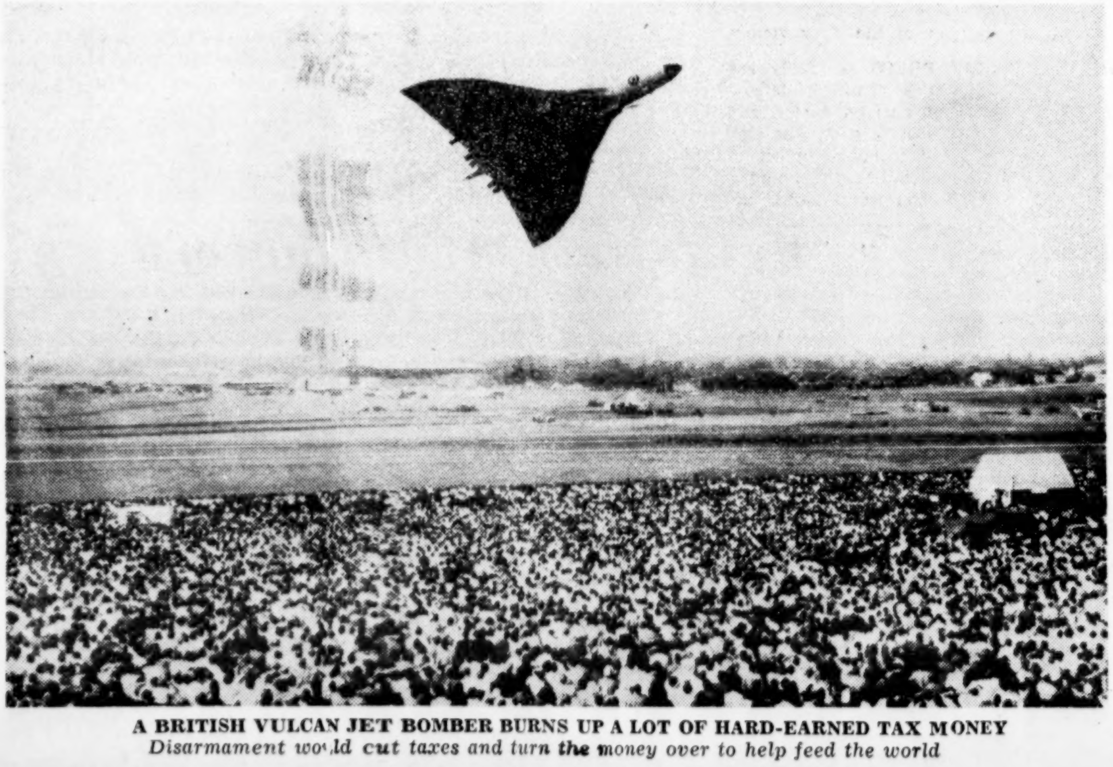
Moreover, the present oscillation between stagnation and inflation is prevented only by massive rearmament from collapsing into chronic mass unemployment, in which Tory rule would crumble and a policy of moving toward socialism would inevitably follow. Britain is spending $4,200,000,000 a year, a sum equal to 10% of her national income, on armaments. This is nearly one-third of our total budget, $1.50 a week for every man, woman and child in the country. Eight percent of our labor force, 12% of our engineering industry, and an "undue proportion" (in the words of the 1957 Defense White Paper), of our scientists and technicians, are locked up in the armed forces or employed on defense. This staggering burden will tend to increase, the longer Britain stays in the costliest and deadliest, as well as the most unnecessary and criminally imbecile, arms race in history.

This arms race corresponds to no international necessity. But it is the social insurance policy of capitalism, which needs preparations for war to keep going as much as it wants to avoid war to stay alive.

THE IMMENSE NEW FORCES of production pouring into our economic system from the spread of electronic techniques, automation, and atomic energy, can only to a small degree be harnessed to constructive social purposes within the framework of existing property relations. Under capitalism most of these productive forces have to be diverted into the economic waste of armaments.

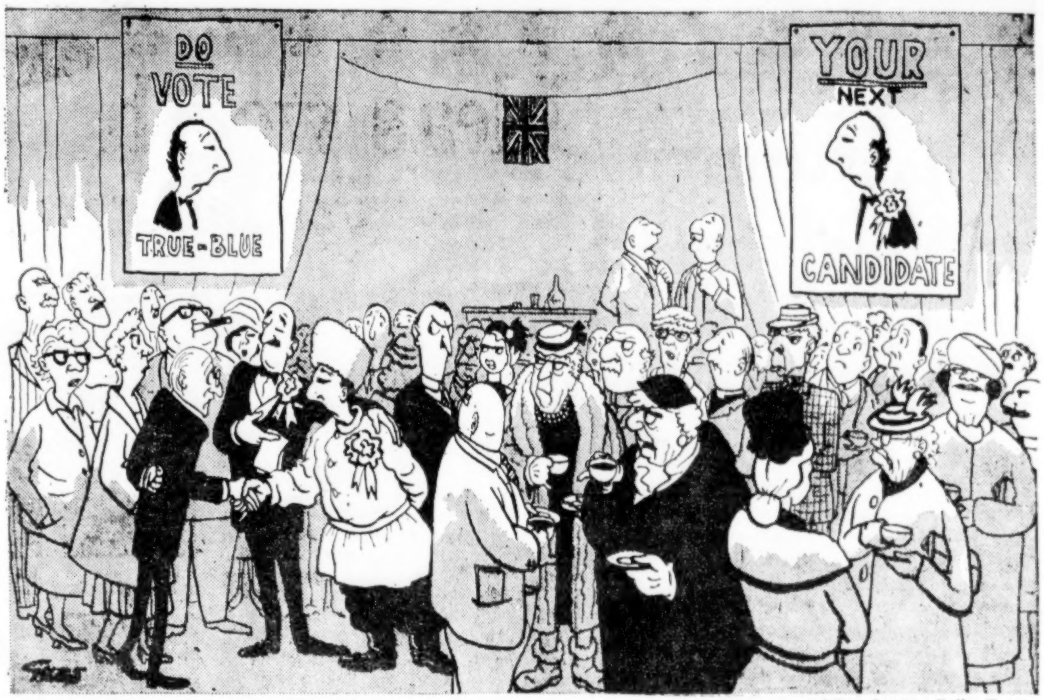
Technically, it would be perfectly possible, as part of a disarmament agreement, to pool part of the sums saved from reducing defense budgets, by, say, 10% a year, in an international central fund such as the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development. This fund would then be used, through the UN Economic Commission for Europe and similar bodies for the Middle East, the Far East, Latin America, and Africa, or by other appropriate means, to stimulate the development of underdeveloped countries, by long-term credits, economic and technical aid, etc. This would start a spate of orders to the advanced industrial countries that would banish the specter of unemployment for many years, if not forever.

But this technical possibility is only a little less theoretical as capitalism's way out of dependence on war preparations today, than was the idea of "super" or "world" capitalism as the way out for imperialism



A BRITISH VULCAN JET BOMBER BURNS UP A LOT OF HARD-EARNED TAX MONEY
Disarmament would cut taxes and turn the money over to help feed the world

nocratic socialism



Giles, London Daily Express

"I still says it's a mistake, even if Mr. Macmillan has gone a little 'Commie' lately."

a half-century ago, when advanced by German Social Democratic "revisionists." For the all-round development of "underdeveloped" countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, through international agencies, would certainly involve their insisting on becoming masters of such of their own national resources as were in the hands of foreign capitalists.

Similarly, internally, the switch-over of production from war preparations to domestic and international peaceful purposes would certainly benefit the nation as a whole; but it would involve at least a partial loss of power and profits on the part of the tight rings of giant concerns which in both the U.S. and Britain, for example, are getting the lion's share of the defense orders, and are intimately associated, in what might be called commanding positions, with the political forces of Conservatism in both countries.

THAT IS WHY an agreement on even gradual disarmament by international cooperation on the lines suggested, to take up the resulting economic slack, is unlikely until there has been a decisive swing to the Left in political power in at least one major capitalist country, accompanied by increasing popular pressure for peace in all.

On the other hand, war is also unlikely, because the ardor of the cold warriors has fallen in proportion to the rise of Soviet power, and they are finding it increasingly difficult to fool or frighten their peoples with the bogey of Soviet aggression. The greatest danger is the prospect of the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, particularly West Germany.

Against this general background, let us now consider on the one hand the international significance of the Conservative election victory, with particular reference to the prospects of disarmament and a Summit Conference, and on the other the position and future of the Labor Party.

"Mr. Macmillan knows that his greatest prize of all during the next five years is to be gained in international affairs," wrote the **Times.** "The appeal of the Conservative image generally and of Mr. Macmillan's personal image in particular began to strengthen perceptibly when it became plain that the government were determined to break the deadlock between the East and West, if that were humanly possible . . ."

The article predicts that this will be the first task to which Macmillan will devote himself. But to him it is axiomatic that he must do whatever the Americans tell him rather than risk breaking the American alliance. That is the only lesson the Tories have drawn from the failure of their attempt to "go it alone" over Suez.

Macmillan remains committed to the policy of "no substantial measure of disarmament without political settlements." He clings to the European policy on which Eden wrecked the January, 1954, Berlin Conference and the July, 1955, Geneva Conference, namely, that united Germany must be free to enter NATO (which he wishes to preserve, not as a bargaining counter to be scrapped or merged in a general settlement, but as an end in itself, a permanent feature of the international landscape). He insists on supplying Germany with nuclear weapons. He also clings to the Baghdad Pact and SEATO and refuses to oppose the American exclusion of China from her permanent seat on the Security Council.

THAT IS WHY Khrushchev's bold disarmament proposals have been so ambiguously received by the British and U.S. governments and why the chance of any important agreement at a Summit Conference is slight. The signs multiply that the two governments will try the old, old trick of diverting the discussion from disarmament to controls first, embellished by theoretical debates on such questions as those Senator Lodge, the U.S. representative in the UN General Assembly, has been asking:

"Does the Soviet government agree to the formation of an international police force after disarmament has been completed?" "If so, how should it be recruited and commanded, under whose orders should it be, and according to what code of law will it operate?" "What should be the national forces for the maintenace of internal law and order?"

The contracts of American arms firms with the Ruhr barons of infamous memory **after** the Soviet disarmament offer, and the sordid attempt, in violation of the gentleman's agreement, to keep Poland off the Security Council, show the real spirit of ruling circles in the United States, in spite of the undoubted personal good will of President Eisenhower. The tacit acquiescence of the British Conservative government in these proceedings shows how little can be hoped from them.

The Conservatives do not want war. They are willing, nay anxious, to keep talks going and to hold Summit Conferences from time to time. But they will move toward disarmament and peace, if at all, only with extreme slowness and reluctance, piecemeal and by fits and starts, under overwhelming pressure from public opinion, relatively progressive elements in their own party, and the opposition. These processes in British opinion will be paralleled by similar developments in American opinion, which although more confused and less hostile to the cold war than British opinion, is in a position to exert stronger pressure on the Administration, between now and the Presidential election in November, 1960, than is possible in Britain on the morrow of the Tory victory.

THE CAPITALIST PRESS is loudly asserting that Labor has suffered a crushing defeat because it clings to the policy of nationalization and is tied to the trade unions. It asserts that this election means the final repudiation of socialism by the British electorate. To this is added much kindly and disinterested advice from the same sources to Labor to retrieve its fallen fortunes by cutting adrift from the trade unions, abandoning the last vestiges of socialism, and becoming a bourgeois "Radical" Party, allying itself with the Liberals on a "progressive capitalist" program.

To all this Labor replies that losing four elections in a row—1950, when our 200 majority was reduced to 6; 1951 when we lost office; 1955 when we lost 1½ million Labor votes; and 1959 when we dropped a further 250,000 votes and lost 25 seats—shows there is something very wrong with the Labor Party. It must re-think its basic positions and purpose in the nuclear age and the ideological conflict.

On the other hand, the latest defeat reflected after all only a 1.3% over-all swing to the Right in public opinion. Labor is still 258 strong in Parliament, as against 365 Conservatives and six Liberals (who in international and colonial matters take much the same line as Labor). One election could easily reverse that situation.

THOSE WHO TALK of severing the connection with the trade unions are trying to turn the clock back nearly 60 years. The Labor Party was founded at a joint conference of trade unions and socialist organizations in 1901, because the unions had discovered that they could not rely on capitalist parties to defend the interests of the workers. Out of the 6,000,000 members of the Labor Party, over 5,000,000 are affiliated trade union members. Of the 800,000 individual members, composing the Constituency Labor Parties, the most politically conscious and active section of the Party, over 80% are trade unionists. It is precisely through the organic connection with the trade unions that the Labor Party is the mass party of the British workers, rooted in and inseparable from the British working class.

That is why, too, the Labor Party is not like continental socialist parties, but a peculiar structure, something half-way between a Social Democratic party and a Popular Front.

The choice before the Labor Party today is whether, in spite of successive defeats, it will follow the logic of its right-wing leadership to the bitter end and destroy itself by trying to become a "progressive capitalist" party; or whether it will make history by becoming the first democratic socialist party in a capitalist state that really stands for socialism.

PRESBYTERY FINDS NO VIOLATION

Rev. McCrackin won't lose his church

AFTER A SIX-MONTH investigation, the Presbytery of Cincinnati reported on Oct. 21 that Rev. Maurice McCrackin, pacifist pastor of the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church, had not broken his vow of ordination by his refusal to pay income taxes.

The study of the church's operations was begun last April when Rev. McCrackin was serving a sentence in Federal prison growing out of his refusal to be taxed for the "folly" of war. Pointing out that the church, with a membership of 265, enjoys an average attendance of 200, the report indicated that only two members were known to have left because of the minister's stand.

"While most of the people do not agree with Mr. McCrackin's stand on the tax issue," the Presbytery stated, "we find both officers and members loyal—both to the church and to the pastor."

TRUE TO VOW: The report pointed out that the Presbytery had requested Rev. McCrackin to pay his taxes, but had not required him to do so. For this reason, it said, he had not broken his vow "to be in subjection to his brethren in the Lord." Emphasizing that it was not the Presbytery's function to collect taxes, the churchmen also expressed the belief that "the Federal government will probably not again take Mr. McCrackin away from his pastoral duties."

On the day the report was issued, two defendants who face jail for their use of the First Amendment before Congressional investigating committees addressed an enthusiastic audience at the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church. Dr. Willard Uphaus, director of the World Fellowship movement, and Carl Braden, field secy. of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, appealed for support for the 30 citizens "in the process of walking the plank for the First Amendment."

Isaiah, 1959

WASHINGTON — An American toy manufacturer is all set for world disarmament—he makes rocking horses from bomb casings. Donald Hendrickson of Hettinger, North Dakota, left one of the toys at the Russian embassy for Premier Khrushchev as an example of what can be done with armaments. He said the embassy "thought it was a wonderful thing."

—UPI dispatch, Sept. 27, 1959

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BOOKS

A partisan portrait of Soviet philosophy

IN THE SUMMER of 1957 an international conference met in Amsterdam to consider "the problems of furthering research in Marxism and Leninism." Sixteen scholars were on hand from England, France, West Germany, Holland, Italy, Switzerland and the U.S. The three-day session concluded that "there is a need for intensifying objective scientific research activities in the field of Marxism and Leninism" and resolved "to encourage international collaboration in editing source materials, in educating young scholars and in . . . research."

The roster included no Marxist student of Marxism. Indeed, none was invited. For this conference was essentially a gathering of hostile experts on Marxism unwilling to admit that they were exercising a privilege which they had always denied to friendly experts—namely, that of being partisan but "objective."

Prominent among those present was Gustav A. Wetter, S.J., whose 600-page account of dialectical materialism in the Soviet Union has now appeared in an English translation.* Based on a course of lectures given in 1945 at the Papal Oriental Institute in Rome, this study was first published in Italian in 1947. It was extensively revised for the 1952 German edition and further revised for the present Anglo-American version.

FATHER WETTER states his aim in the preface. It is "to provide an ordered selection of documentary evidence sufficient for an intellectual show-down with Soviet Communism." At the same time, he promises a fair fight. He commits himself, so far as he criticizes dialectial materialism, "not to set out from any preconceived position, but rather to criticize so far as possible from within."

Vie Nuove, Rome

He then presents a historical sketch of the philosophical roots and subsequent development of Marxist philosophy through Marx, Engels, Plekhanov, Lenin and Stalin—with a hasty chapter on events since the death of Stalin. This is followed by a survey, carried forward to late 1956, of Soviet views on the nature of philosophy, matter, dialectics, modern science, knowledge and logic.

His American publisher describes Father Wetter as the "world's leading authority on Communist ideology." This, of course, is dust-jacket hyperbole. But the author has been at pains to examine a vast amount of Russian and German Marxist and anti-Marxist literature. His book, therefore, is no trivial piece of crude cold war scholarship. Nor have Marxists abroad dismissed the earlier editions lightly. In fact, the East German philosopher Georg Klaus of Humboldt University, Berlin, has written a book-length reply entitled **Jesuiten, Gott, Materie.**

HERE WE CAN only indicate and comment briefly on Father Wetter's main finding. He concedes that ideally dialectical materialism has certain good points which "can be related in one way or another to one of its two major constituents, namely, the dialectic. But he finds in "irreconcilable contrast" the second main component of the system: "its basic dogma of materialism" (p. 550). Wetter declares the contradiction between materialism and dialectics to be so profound as to "poison the whole system." In consequence, in present-day Soviet philosophy he finds that "there is very little left of real dialectics, and that it consists, rather, of a materialistic evolutionism, decked out in dialectical terminology" (p. xi).

A definition

CONTRARY TO IDEALISM, materialism interprets the origin and development of the universe in terms of nature itself, rather than accepting the idea of a creator. The dialectical method—from the Greek word **dialego,** literally to talk back and forth, or debate—regards the phenomena of nature as in a constant movement and change (or "contradiction"), and the development of nature as a process unfolding from this movement and change; as opposed to metaphysics, which supposes, in Engels' definition, that nature's process "moves in an eternally uniform and constantly repeated circle." Engels credited Darwin with dealing "a severe blow to the metaphysical conception of nature by proving that the organic world of today, plants and animals, and consequently man, too, is all a product of a process of development that has been in progress for millions of years."

Now it certainly can be argued that most Soviet philosophical writing, especially during Stalin's latter years, has been dogmatic and parochial. It can be argued further that very little has been contributed to the creative development of materialist dialectics since Lenin's **Materialism and Empirio-criticism.** But Father Wetter is asserting much more than this. His contention is that Soviet philosophy cannot advance because materialism is irreconcilable with dialectics.

What evidence does he offer as proof of this irreconcilability? Take, for example, his argument that the dialectical principle of qualitative change is incompatible with a materialist view of the origin of life. His "proof" is that even simple qualitative transitions often do not take place of their "own accord" but require an "efficient cause" to make them happen.

NOBEL POET

SALVATORE QUASIMODO, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature last month, began his adult life as an engineering student in a Sicilian university. But he was expelled in 1922 for political activity. He moved to Milan where he earned a degree in Greek and Latin. For the next ten years he worked in the State civil engineering service. During the war he participated in the resistance.

In post-war Italy he earned a reputation for translating foreign classics. His translation of Shakespeare's **Romeo and Juliet** was acclaimed when it was produced in Verona soon after the war. His poems also drew attention and in 1958 he won the Viareggio Prize for poetry.

Currently, he teaches Italian literature at the Conservatoire in Milan and is the drama critic for a local paper His work is well known to some working people who have read it on the front page of **L'Unita,** the Communist Party daily. Quasimodo is unmarried.

ALL THE MORE, he concludes, "there is an absolute necessity for such influence on the part of an extra-mundane cause as soon as it is a matter, not just of changes within the same order of reality, but of ascending to a higher one, as with the emergence of life or conscious mentality . . . and if we were to assume a spontaneous generation from the less perfect, the 'gain' in perfection would lack any corresponding cause, and must in fact have arisen out of nothing. But to postulate such a generation would be to credit the less perfect, which is incapable of creating out of nothing, with a genuine power of creation: and this is impossible. To ascribe such creative power to an infinite, perfect-world-creator, as is done in theism, where the greatest wealth of being is situated at the world's beginning, is a notion which straightaway lends itself to completion. But to set what is poorest in being, lifeless, mindless matter, at the world's beginning, and to endow it with creative power, is an assumption that can only be filled out in idea, but not in thought." (pp. 332-333.)

This is a typical scholastic argument and is in no sense criticism "from within." The incompatibility it reveals is not between materialism and dialectics but between dialectical materialism and the teachings of Thomas Aquinas. The same can be said of similar arguments that occur throughout the book.

THUS, INSTEAD of objective criticism "from within," Father Wetter has given us a partisan portrait of Soviet philosophy as seen through Thomist eyes. He has not completed a piece of scientific research but rather initiated a philosophical debate.

Such a debate might serve a useful purpose today if conducted on a serious philosophical level, free of cold war overtones. But in that event, Father Wetter should not misstate the point at issue. He says it is Christianity versus Communism, when in fact he is debating Jesuit philosophy versus dialectical materialism. Obviously, only a small minority of Christians are Jesuits, fewer, indeed, than the number of Christians who are Communists.

Meanwhile, in order that the debate may proceed on more even terms, perhaps some American publisher will now come forward with an English translation of Professor Klaus' "Anti-Wetter."

—**Albert E. Blumberg**

**DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM: A historical and systematic survey of philosophy in the Soviet Union, by Gustav A. Wetter. Frederick A. Praeger, New York, xii plus 609 pp. $10.*

U.S.-Soviet Friendship Rally at Carnegie Hall Nov. 15

THE 18TH ANNUAL RALLY for Peace and Friendship sponsored by the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, will be held Sun., Nov. 15 at Carnegie Hall. Dr. Norman Whitney, Peace Secy. of the American Friends Service Committee and former English professor at Syracuse U., will be the featured speaker.

Other speakers include the former and the present chairman of the Council, Dr. Corliss Lamont and Rockwell Kent, and a recent participant in the Vienna Youth Festival, Carol Buhr. The Ukrainian Folk Dancers will also appear. Admission is $1. Tickets may be ordered through the Council's office, Suite 707, 114 E. 32nd St., New York 16.

MARTIN LUTHER KING'S LIFE

Crusader without violence

THE MERIT of this biography* is that it rests upon personal acquaintance and first-hand knowledge of its subject and not merely on documents. The author was for nine years curator of the Schomburg collection of Negro Literature in the New York Public Library. He then went South to become a librarian at Atlanta University and during the last few years has been chairman of the Dept. of History at Alabama State College in Montgomery, Alabama.

He therefore saw personally and was a close observer of what went on during the celebrated strike of Negroes against the bus lines. He became personally connected with the leader of the strike, Martin Luther King, and writes a sympathetic and intelligent story of the man. He gives a detailed account of his family, his education and his personality.

THE RESULTING PICTURE is interesting and appealing but also a little disturbing. Here is a young colored man of good family and careful up-bringing under the tutelage of a successful Negro minister. He receives his training at a Southern Negro college, in a New Jersey Theological school, and Boston University. His doctor's thesis is on a vague theological problem about the power of God as pictured by two of his theological teachers. But he broadens his theological training by wide contact with human beings black and white, and evolves a personal philosophy which gradually follows the ideal of Gandhi, non-violence.

His application of this philosophy in the Montgomery strike is well-known and deserves wide praise, but leaves me a little in doubt. I was sorry to see King lauded for his opposition to the young colored man in North Carolina who declared that in order to stop lynching and mob violence, Negroes must fight back.

THERE IS NO QUESTION but that King in Montgomery suffered and stood firm without surrender but it is a very grave question as to whether or not the slavery and degradation of Negroes in America has not been unncessarily prolonged by the submission to evil.

Gandhi submitted, but he also followed a positive program to offset his negative refusal to use violence. He organized Negro opposition in South Africa; he helped in the first World War and he had an economic program to oppose the exploitation of Indian labor.

In Montgomery hundreds of Negroes have suffered and lost their jobs because of the strike. What program have King and his followers to offset this? Perhaps he is thinking along these lines, but this picture by Reddick does not make any such plan clear. It is however a book to be enjoyed together with King's own story of Montgomery.

—**W. E. B. Du Bois**

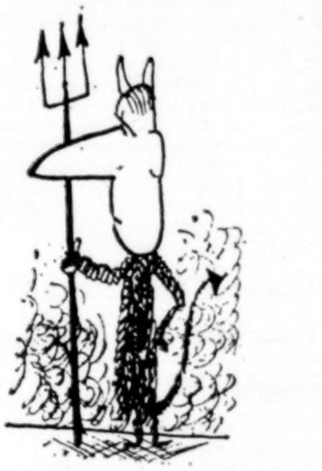
**CRUSADER WITHOUT VIOLENCE, A Biography of Martin Luther King Jr., by L. D. Reddick. Harper & Brothers, New York. 243 pp. $3.95.*

Road to summit

(Continued from Page 1)

cannot be established."

PEACE AND GERMANY: The Soviet Premier also emphasized disarmament and said Moscow was "prepared to consider other proposals" besides its own "so as to reach mutually acceptable solutions." He noted that disarmament prospects would be enhanced by finding solutions to problems left in the wake of World War II, such as the two Germanys and the unnatural situation in Berlin. This could be done, he said, "by concluding a peace treaty with the two really existing German states, whereby the Berlin question would also be solved."



Paris Canard

Macmillan said in the course of a Parliamentary debate that a summit meeting should be held "as early as possible" in order to take advantage of the prevailing flow of goodwill. Such a meeting, he said, should not attempt to solve too many problems but confine itself to the most pressing issues of Berlin and disarmament. He added: "Continued negotiations through a long . . . period, involving a series of meetings, seem to me the right approach."

PECK'S BAD BOYS: None of these ideas sat well with Adenauer and de Gaulle. The West German Chancellor, speaking on foreign policy at a Christian Democratic Party meeting at Baden-Baden on Oct. 25, said he could support the idea of a summit meeting if disarmament were the only issue discussed and Germany's future and Berlin were excluded. He suggested that, if the meeting were held, it should be sometime between December—favored by the U.S. and Britain—and June—favored by France.

In the French Parliament on Oct. 27, Premier Michel Debre detailed de Gaulle's stand. It was far more extreme than the stand taken by Adenauer. It supported a summit meeting next spring at the earliest "if in the next few months favorable signs should develop, which debates in the UN and the situation in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and Africa will provide an opportunity for verifying." If these conditions were met, the statement said, then there should be a "grand confrontation" at the summit on all major issues.

FRENCH CONDITIONS: Adenauer apparently does not want a united Germany but, with an eye to the 1961 elections, must continue to demand it because it is popular and he has advocated it in the past. He does not want it because, in a united Germany, he would find the combined strength of the Communists and Social Democrats—even if there is no coalition—indigestible. He trusts neither Eisenhower nor Macmillan; and, with his alter ego Dulles gone, he wants no discussion on Germany at the summit.

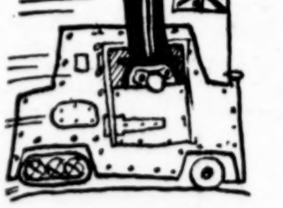
De Gaulle would prefer no summit meeting—at least not before (1) there is a U.S.-British-French NATO directorate; (2) France has an equal voice in the world-wide issues involving the U.S. and Britain; (3) West German cooperation in French exploitation of African colonial resources is stabilized; (4) the Soviet Union and China demonstrate they will not in any way oppose France's interests anywhere.

MR. K. ON PROBATION: This rigid French-West German posture has raised grave misgivings everywhere. To many observers de Gaulle's insistence on a leading position in NATO and U.S. arming of NATO troops with nuclear weapons seem to be turning that organization into a major obstacle on the road to the summit. George F. Kennan (who has reversed his original "containment" of the Soviet Union policy) noted two weeks ago that NATO policy has made the German problem "more difficult of solution than it was two years ago."

Regarding de Gaulle's demands, the London **Times** commented editorially (Oct. 21):

"He wishes to put Mr. Khrushchev on a . . . probationary period before agreeing to any summit meeting at all . . . He has North Africa in mind and implicitly warns Russia to act discreetly if Algeria comes up for debate at the UN . . . He extends the area of good behavior to Southeast Asia, where China has more to say than Russia, and to the Middle East, where again Russia alone cannot control events . . . In any case, Russia could reply that, if the summit rested on the assurance of peace in Southeast Asia, China had better be brought in."

The **Times** added: "President de Gaulle's declaration means that the weary work of preparing for the summit may have to begin almost at the beginning again."



Drawing by Dyad, London

Goodwill visit to France

A POOR RECIPE: Columnist Walter Lippmann noted (Oct. 22, 29) that de Gaulle "wants to treat [the summit] as a prize which Mr. K. must in the months to come win by his good behavior" and he is "to judge whether Mr. K. has earned the prize." Lippmann believed that "if a new statute for West Berlin is negotiated—which guarantees its freedom and the right of access—the price will be in one way or another a de facto recognition of the East German state."

It seemed to Lippmann that de Gaulle's policy was "a recipe for accepting [President Eisenhower's] policy in principle and obstructing it in fact." He said that "when the German Chancellor does not want to negotiate about German problems, it is fair to conclude that he does not want to negotiate." Lippmann added:

"The President would have to insist [on treating] Berlin as a negotiable question . . . For if he yielded to Gen. de Gaulle and Dr. Adenauer by agreeing that the status of Berlin is fixed, unalterable, and non-negotiable, the diplomatic venture on which he embarked last summer would be wrecked."

DOUBT IN GERMANY: Even the West German press appeared to agree with Lippmann. Sydney Gruson reported from Bonn (N.Y. **Times**, Oct. 27) that there was a "gnawing doubt that the present policy of refusing to come to some terms with Communist East Germany can be maintained much longer." He quoted the Stuttgarter **Zeitung** as urging that "the U.S., as the strongest member of the alliance, should lay down a clear policy for the others to follow." According to Gruson, the normally pro-Adenauer Dortmund **Ruhr-Nachrichten**, while sharing de Gaulle's "skepticism," nevertheless urged a summit meeting "as soon as possible" and said: "If de Gaulle fails to show up the first time, he certainly will attend subsequent meetings."

A SERIES OF VISITS: In keeping with the prevailing mood in London, Washington and Moscow to settle problems by negotiations, attempts are being made to remove the roadblocks. Adenauer is going to London Nov. 17 and to Paris Dec. 1. Eisenhower and Macmillan will meet de Gaulle and Adenauer in Paris Dec. 19.

Most important of all, Khrushchev has accepted an invitation from de Gaulle—extended to raise the prestige of the sensitive French President to the level of Macmillan and Eisenhower—to visit France early in 1960, perhaps in March. This, the London **Times** said, "could be the most influential of the pre-summit talks."

He couldn't look 'em in the eyes...

A METHODIST MINISTER has quit his work as a Belgian Congo missionary to become pastor of a Los Angeles church because he thinks the integration problem is greater here than in dark Africa.

The Rev. Lawrence Robinson said he couldn't look the natives in the eye anymore to preach brotherly love and equality after he read about integration incidents in Little Rock and other parts of the nation.

So he asked Bishop Gerald H. Kennedy for a church faced with integration. He was named pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Church, 1200 S. Manhattan Pl.

"I felt like a hypocrite," confessed the minister. "If we whites couldn't accomplish integration at home, how could I teach natives in the mission field?"

It was a real dilemma, he said.

"I told myself, 'I am a white, Protestant, Christian American. I am just as responsible for what other Christians like me are doing back home.'

"I decided I'd better do my part to get our own house in order before I faced the African natives again," explained the 44-year-old pastor.

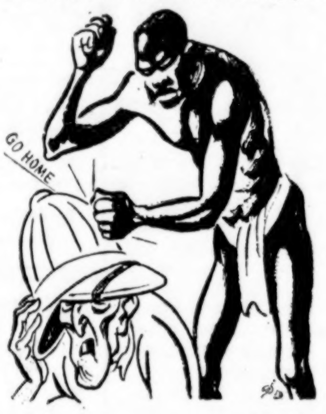
—Duane Du Zan in Los Angeles **Mirror News**

A VICTIM MAKES A PREDICTION

South Africa bloodbath in 5 years?

LONDON

REPORTED as the first victim of a press-gagging campaign by South Africa's **apartheid** government, British correspondent Henry Barzilay told a press conference here: "Within five years we shall see there one of the biggest bloodbaths that ever took place."



Tvorba, Prague

"The tom-toms are beating"

Barzilay, a producer of TV film, reporter for BBC, NBC, CBC and other networks who has been 12 years in South Africa, said he expected other factual reporters of the consequences of **apartheid** to be expelled, and censorship legislation introduced to keep "people outside from knowing what goes on inside." The government, asked why he was being deported, had said it did not have to explain in "cases of state security." A detective had told Barzilay the order might be reversed if he "said he was sorry" and would "cooperate with the authorities in future."

Other victims of the gag campaign: a **Dagens Nyheter** (Stockholm) correspondent refused an entry visa, a London **Observer** man denied a police press card.

'SUICIDAL': In London's Central Hall, Archbishop Joost de Blank of Cape Town told a South African Church Institute meeting that the attempt to "halt humanity's forward march" with **apartheid** was "suicidal . . . the open sore of 20th century Africa as slavery was in the 19th." Looking in vain for "sincere idealists" among protagonists of **apartheid**, he had found that "in practice it means not 'separate but equal' but 'separate and unequal'—the African remaining in permanent subservience . . . On the basis of self-interest alone it is crazy."

Writing to the Manchester **Guardian** "in my capacity as vice-president of the South African Sports Assn.," author Alan Paton urged British cricketers not to play against South Africa if another all-white team is sent here next year. He said there were at least one or two Africans meriting selection, and if they were excluded the British should decline "for the sake of cricket and the Commonwealth." This year West Indies cricketers refused to come to South Africa to meet all-colored teams there. Paton said "many South Africans" hoped New Zealand's rugby football team would drop its plan to meet all-white teams in South Africa.

FOR 1960 BALLOT

SWP in Michigan gets 32,008 names

Special to the Guardian

LANSING, MICH.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS Party has completed its filing of nominating petitions with the Secretary of State for a place on the Michigan ballot in the 1960 elections. The total submitted was 32,008. The number legally required is 12,708.

First of the minority parties to file petitions, the SWP declared through its state chairman, Frank Lovell:

"In the last 11 weeks our members and friends have spoken to more than 100,000 people in Michigan while seeking signatures for our nominating petition.

"The response we got would shock the politicians of both capitalist parties. There are tens of thousands in our state who do not accept the full socialist program yet but who are profoundly dissatisfied with the old parties' failure to solve the problems of war, unemployment, racial bias and general insecurity.

"Our campaign next year will seek to show the need for labor to break with the old parties and start a labor party that will run independent candidates for office and seek to replace the rule of the monopoly capitalists with the rule of the working people."

It's about time they sent Trigger Tom to the showers

MIAMI, Florida—The American people ought to consider adopting a policy of "pre-emptive" attack if faced by an actual war threat, Gen. Thomas S. Power, Commander of the Strategic Air Command, said today. He defined a "pre-emptive attack" as an action to forestall a damaging strike by an enemy planning to open hostilities.

Gen Power, who discussed the great damage that Soviet forces could inflict in a surprise attack on the U.S., was asked to estimate how many Russians his forces could kill in an attack. He said the guess that deaths might total 50,000,000 was "in the right ball park."

—N.Y. Times.

the SPECTATOR

Paris all over

PARIS

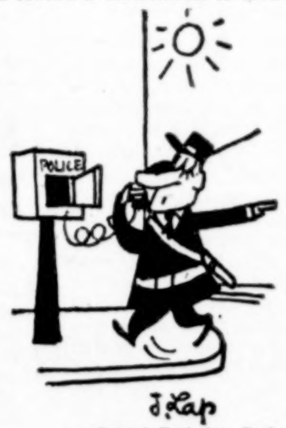
IN PARIS THESE DAYS there is a new twist to Mark Twain's famous remark about the weather. Everybody is talking about it but nobody wants to do anything about it. And for a sound reason: why spoil a good thing? Paris is living through a second spring in the fall and Parisians have come to expect warm, sunny, rainless days and are getting them.

Both as a city and as a capital Paris is unique in that one does not have to go hunting for a specifically Parisian section. Paris is Paris all over. Whether you stroll along its wide boulevards or through its narrow side-streets, the charm of Paris will be there. And the best way to enjoy it is through the courtesy of a pair of good walking shoes.

There is, however, a hazard involved in this method—Paris traffic. Even when the light is yours, Parisians drive up close enough to you to see the whites of your eyes. When you make it safely across the street, you are entitled to congratulate yourself for an outstanding achievement. Grappling with Paris traffic always brings to mind a famous remark of Sholem Aleichem. Commenting on the New York traffic of his day, the Yiddish Mark Twain said: "Here one does not just cross the street; here one rescues oneself."

ONE AFTERNOON, while strolling through Paris, we came upon the following street scene. On a side-street off the elegant Avenue de George V, two North Africans were stopped by a group of policemen. After a cursory examination of their papers, they were arrested and taken away in a police van. The scene was watched by many spectators in glum silence. What they saw was not just another street incident in a large city but another ugly aspect of France's national tragedy called Algeria.

We walked on, but the scene haunted us. Only five minutes ago those individuals had been headed toward a destination of their own choice, now they were on their way to a prison cell. Why? What was their crime? I learned later that their arrest need not have been connected with any specific crime at all, and that street arrests of North Africans are not unusual in France.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Quick, a face!"

There is even a special term for these arrests: **rafle au facies**—round-up according to face; a kind of face-racism which is a leftover from the time of the Nazi occupation when the Gestapo had in its employ "experts" who could detect a Jew by the contours of his face. These human bloodhounds would roam the streets of Paris and other occupied cities, sniffing out their victims with their eyes and handing them over to the Gestapo. Now this method is employed by the police in rounding up North Africans.

ALBERT LEVY, secretary of the Movement Against Racism and Anti-Semitism and for Peace (MRAP) who gave us this information, also told us that in April, 1958, 14 Algerian Jews living in Paris were thus arrested and mistreated in prison despite the fact that Algerian Jews are legally classified as French and not Algerian. Thanks to the vigorous protests of MRAP, the Jews were released from prison and four policemen were expelled from the force.

Mr. Levy also cited this shocking bit of statistics: There are several anti-Semitic publications here with a combined circulation of 100,000 a week. Behind them are the most reactionary elements of France, most of whom are former Nazi collaborators. Their influence in French political life is small, though they have become increasingly more vocal since the advent of de Gaulle, whom they helped come to power. One of their leaders, Biaggi, is now a deputy in the French Parliament. But Mr. Levy ended on a reassuring note: There is no discrimination against Jews in France, neither in education nor in any field of employment.

In our letter from London (GUARDIAN, Oct. 5) we raved about the English pub. That was before we discovered the Paris out-door cafe. We still believe the pub is worth writing home about, but the cafe, in sheer versatility, can run rings around the pub. The cafe is the Frenchman's second home. Here you can get anything from a bottle of beer to an eight-course meal; here you meet your friends, write letters, read a book and, if you are so inclined, create a poem. Or you don't have to do anything at all except watch the pretty girls go by.

—Yuri Suhl

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November 2, 1958

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The L.A. Jewish Currents Committee presents
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Fri., Nov. 20 8:30 p.m.
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HYMAN LUMER: "Inside the Khrushchev Era" (full length review)
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S. G. STRUMILIN: The Workday and Communism
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- Implications for America . . .

TUES. NOV. 17 8 P.M.
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Admission 90c

Robert & Hedda Baker report first-hand on Soviet social welfare institutions: "U.S.S.R.—Cradle to the Grave." 5010 Jarlath Av., Skokie (nr. Touhy & Edens Expressway). Sat., Nov. 7, 8:30 p.m. **$1.** Ausp: Chi. Council of Am-Sov. Friendship

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Tickets available at Burrows Ticket Office, or call WYoming 1-0010.

DETROIT

SHIRLEY GRAHAM, author-lecturer, recently returned from tour of 3 continents, speaks on "AFRICA ON THE MARCH," Tues., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. McGregor Memorial Conference Center, Conference Room B (Ferry & 2nd Av.) Reg. $1. Ausp. Global Books Forum.

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Sun., Nov. 15, 11 a.m.:
"Resolving the Contradictions Between Bureaucracy and Democracy."
Lecturer: Arne Swabeck, Natl. Comm., Socialist Workers Party
— Further lectures to be announced. —

Guardian Readers Group Meeting.
Speaker: **Dr. Isadore Zifferstein,** Psychiatrist
Topic: **An American Psychiatrist Looks at Soviet Man.**
Place. City Terrace Cultural Center, 3875 City Terrace Drive.
Date: Thurs., Nov. 12, 8 p.m. sharp.

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DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN speaks on "Political Commitments of the Writer — Sholokhov vs. Dr. Zhivago" Fri., Nov. 13, 8:30 p.m., Hotel Beacon, Broadway & 75th St. (Silver Room). Adm. Free. Ausp: West Side Community Club.

"ENJOY A MEXICAN VACATION"
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LECTURE, SUN., NOV. 8, 8:30 P.M.
VICTOR PERLO, well-known economist & lecturer, speaks on "Coexistence & Competition Under Two Systems." Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

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* * * *

SAVE THIS DATE—Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary, Socialist Workers Party and former Teamsters Union leader, discusses "Labor Role in 1960 Elections." Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl. Contribution $1.

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THE GALLERY

BRITISH RAILWAYS reported that it got taken for $50 plus the cost of a rail ticket by a sharp American tourist. The carpetbagger, it seems, paid for a ticket with a $50 bill and received change. "But," said a railway official, "the bill was out of date. It was issued by the Confederate States of America in 1864." . . . The Natl. Farmers Union **Newsletter** reports: "Vice President Nixon, who is now on a political tour to dedicate and praise new dams in New Hampshire and Oregon, voted against public power measures eight out of ten times while in the House of Representatives and three out of three times as a Senator." . . . According to Ray Tucker in the Yonkers **Herald Statesman** some people compare Nelson Rockefeller with Wendell Willkie. One Rockefeller partisan told Tucker: "He is filled with ebullient good fellowship. He has an electric personality. He grabs you by the arm, and you feel as if you had been electrocuted." . . . Police had to use tear gas to disperse 500 villagers in Pizzolano, Italy, after they had walled up their parish priest in his church. They said it was a sign of affection because he had been transferred and they wanted him to stay. . . . General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, chairman of Bulova Watch Co., says there is little difference between running a business and commanding an army group. "The one big difference is," he says, "in business you are dealing mainly with dollars instead of lives."

FROM MILTON TO MINSKY

Patti White gave up teaching in North Hollywood last year for a more lucrative career as a strip teaser. She says, "I like stripping because the traveling involved is so educational."

ROBERT M. (BOBBY) SHELTON, grand dragon of the Alabama Ku Klux Klan, is against the Natl. Mental Health Assn. because, he says, psychiatrists can give a man an electric shock treatment and thereby "make an integrationist out of a segregationist." He said the U. of Alabama Medical College is "the rottenest place in Alabama" because "they have those alien psychiatrists . . . who talk broken English with an alien accent." . . . ACA Gallery, 63 E. 57th St., New York, is showing the works of William Gropper through Nov. 14 . . . In Connecticut, Taxpayer party supporters hung a sign, 30'x25', on a downtown building: "Westport Needs Al Scully." Alert backers of a rival candidate for first selectman answered with a sign in seven-foot block letters on another building a half block away: "Like a Hole in the Head." . . . . . . The current issue of the Soviet fashion magazine, **Modi,** shows the latest Russian evening dress for men: A chartreuse dinner jacket. The garment isn't in production, but if you like, the magazine will send you a pattern and you can make your own. . . . Col. Sir Ralph Clarke, joint master of the Surrey and Barstow Hunt, announced last month that one could join Britain's oldest fox hunts on the "never-never" (installment plan): "We feel it's in accord with modern trends. We're very much against hunting being a rich man's sport." He added that there were also family plans available . . . Chicago Police Commissioner Timothy J. O'Connor suspended Police Lt. Anthony DeGrazio after Scotland Yard reported that the policeman spent his vacation in England in the constant company of Anthony (Tough Tony) Accardo, reported to be Chicago's No. 1 gangster . . . The Tax Court in Washington ruled last month that the cost of dancing lessons may not be taken as a medical deduction even though the lessons were recommended by a physician. John J. Thoene, the defendant, insisted in vain that his psychiatrist had endorsed his family doctor's therapy.

—**Robert E. Light**

INSTRUCTION

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Please more articles by Dr. Du Bois. The Negro people are fortunate in having a spokesman of his genius and stature.

B. Froug

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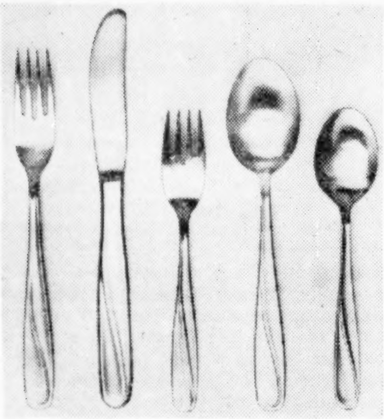
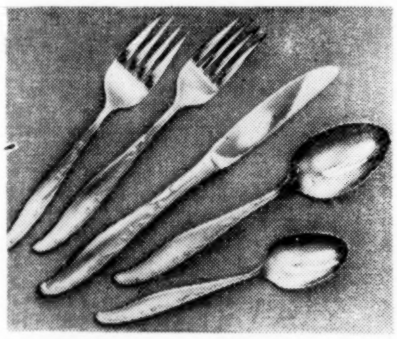
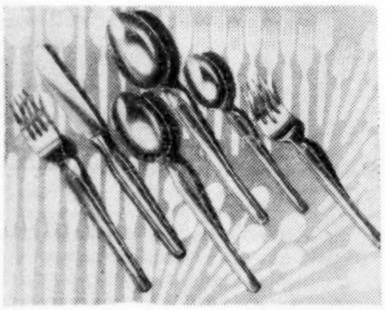


For the first time in years GBS is able to offer you stainless steel tableware! This time we have three fine sets, two from Japan and one from Solingen, Germany. All are 50-piece sets—service for eight—with eight knives, forks, salad forks, soup spoons, 16 teaspoons and a butter knife and sugar shell. The designs are modern and simple, the quality high.



"BERGEN" (above)—Smart, mirror-finished handles with mirror-finish bowls and blades in extra heavyweight stainless steel. Hollow-handled knives have serrated tips. Service for eight **$10.95**

"FORTUNE" (right)—Beautiful satin-finished handles with mirror bowls and blades. Guaranteed against rust and tarnish. Exquisitely simple flower pattern. Hollow-handled knives with serrated tips. Extra heavyweight stainless steel. From Japan **$14.95**



"MOSELLE" (left)—Highest quality flatware, from Solingen, Germany. Hollow-handled knives with forged blades, serrated tips, beautifully satin-finished with mirror-bright blades and bowls. **$17.95**

6-PIECE STEAK KNIFE SET (right)—Solid, one-piece extra heavyweight stainless steel, highly mirror-polished. Beautiful design, serrated tips, gift-boxed. Japanese.

JUST $4.95

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NEWSPAPER

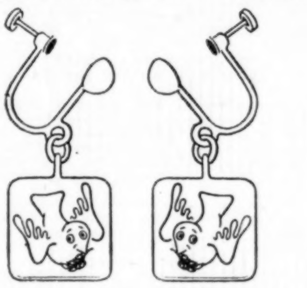
A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

Holiday Shopping Guide

New This Year!

GUARDIAN Peace Dove Jewelry!



A unique and charming series of gifts—the hopeful little Guardian Peace Dove, cast into a stunning line of earrings, tie-tacks, cuff links, a pendant and a pin! This lovely jewelry is made to the Guardian's own design, handcrafted for us by a noted New York silversmith. Each pin is in oxydized sterling silver with sturdy clasps, and satin (burnished) finish. The ideal gift for men and women.

For The Ladies

A—EARRINGS—Exquisite sterling silver drop earrings with the little peace dove incised in oxydized outline on delicate small (5/8") mobile squares. ....Just **$4.95**

B—PENDANT—Lovely 7/8" sterling chain, with dove in incised outline. May be used as charm for charm bracelet.
A wonderful gift for **$4.50**

C—PIN—Charming Peace Dove pin 1-3/8 x 1¼. Dove in gleaming, lustrous silhouette. Only **$4.95**

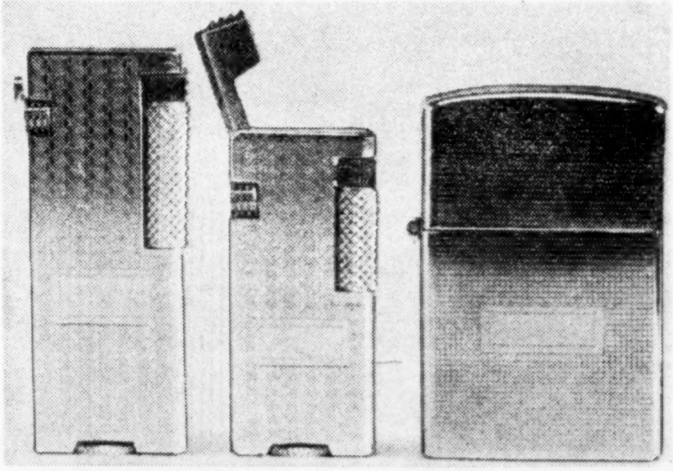
For The Men

D—CUFF LINKS—Handsome 5/8" x 7/8" rectangular blocks of sterling silver with peace dove incised in oxydized outline. Satin finished, with extra firm snap-type cuff link backs. A wonderful gift alone or as a set with matching tie tack. (See below) **$5.95**

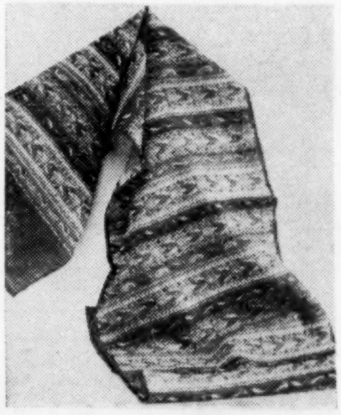
E—TIE TACK—A charming match to cuff links. A tiny silhouetted dove in oxydized sterling silver, satin finished. An ideal gift alone or with matching cuff links.
(See above) **$3.50**

Cigarette Lighters!

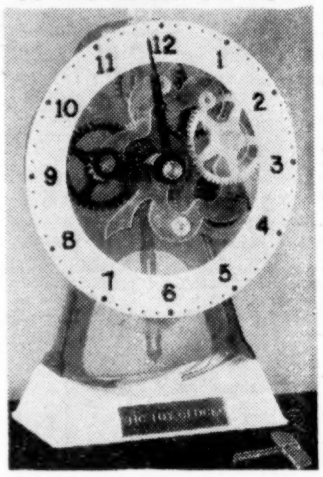
Three outstanding values to "light up" your Holidays! The two lighters below, *(left and center)* are the fine "side-wheel" type, beautifully made. A knurled wheel at top controls flint pressure. Flint may be changed and lighter filled without a screw driver. Extra cartridge is concealed inside refill cap. Men's size *(Left)* in engine-turned gold or silver finish, boxed, $2.25. Women's *(Center)* $2. *"His and Hers"* Set $3.95! "Windproof" type *(Right)* in beautiful engine-turned case with permanent fibreglass wick, $1.25. Actual size.



(Above) Imported from Japan, these lovely paisley print, 100% fine wool squares add the finishing touch to any woman's winter outfit. Perfect as head-scarf or neck warmer. Multi-color paisley design on white background, 32" square. GBS Price $3



A WONDERFUL TOY



TIC TOY CLOCK—Just fantastic! A large plastic clock which the child assembles himself. All gears and pinions are color-keyed. Keeps time for 12 hours! Stands 14" high when assembled. A great do-it-yourself toy. Only $5.45

Opera Glasses

OPERA GLASSES—An elegant, compact, folding opera and sports glass, just the thing for the theater and special events! 2.5 magnification, cigarette case size, fits in your purse or pocket. Leather covered. 4-¼" x 2-½" x ¾" thin.

Only $2.50

For The Lassies In Your Life!

(Above) FROM YUGOSLAVIA—Charming hand-woven CAPS (medium head size) suitable for all females young in heart—from 10 to the "over 21" group. Reversible—one side raised hand-woven multi-color stripes, other side solid color felt with wool hand embroidery. Solid colors in red, black, green. **Priced at $2.50.** (NOTE: In ordering, please be sure to give first and second choice in color.)

(Left) Finely-woven 100% wool ascot scarf in paisley on white background to slip underneath coat or jacket for extra warmth and style. Each scarf is 10½x48" long. ....**JUST $2**